1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PREFACE

The Masai occupy a considerable part of the large plains which extend from about one degree north of the equator to six degrees south of it, situate in both British and German East Africa. Those living in British territory commonly call themselves Il-Maasae[1], whilst the 'German Masai' are to a large extent known as 'L-Oikop[2] or Il-Lumbwa[3]. In olden days the coast people termed them without discrimination Wa-Masái or Wa-Kwayi[4], names which have been perpetuated by Krapf and others.

Sir H. Johnston states[5], and probably correctly, that the Masai represent an early mixture between the Nilotic negro and the Hamite (Gala-Somali); and that this blend of peoples must have been isolated somewhere in the high mountains or plateaux which lie between the Nile and the Karamojo country. Certain it is that the Latuka, who are supposed to be descendants of the ancestral Masai, and who occupy this country, speak a language that is closely allied to the Masai tongue, and have many customs in common with the Masai. The accounts which have been published of the habits and

[1] When spoken rapidly this word is sometimes pronounced Il-Máse (for further particulars see also p. 29, note 4).

[2] 'L-Oikop is believed to signify the possessors of the land. It also means murder (see p. 27, note 3, and p. 311).

[3] Not to be confounded with the so-called Lumbwa (whose real name is Kip-sikisi), a tribe living near the Victoria Nyanza in British East Africa. These Lumbwa or Kip-sikisi are nearly related to the Nandi, and are believed to have migrated from north of Mount Elgon (Hobley, *Eastern Uganda*, p. 10). Lumbwa is a term of contempt, and signifies a pastoral people who have taken to agriculture.

[4] The meaning of Kwayi (*or* Kwapi) in Masai is countries *or* somewhere. Hildebrandt's suggestion (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1878, p. 349) that Maasae is derived from the Masai word 'maasa, property, and that Kwayi is a corruption of kafi, the Swahili for paddle (given in allusion to their broad-bladed spears), is probably incorrect.

[5] *The Uganda Protectorate*, vol. ii, p. 796.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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INTRODUCTION

THE present work, by Mr. Hollis, Chief Secretary to the Administration of the East Africa Protectorate, treats of the language, traditions, and customs of the Masai, one of the most interesting and important tribes of those territories. I am not competent—and there must be few people in the world who are—to criticize by the light of independent knowledge the mass of material which he has brought together, and will merely attempt briefly to summarize the information about the race which we now possess. Mr. Hollis's previous contributions to anthropology, his opportunities for studying and daily conversing with the Masai, and his linguistic talents, which are well known to every one in East Africa, are a sufficient guarantee for the thoroughness and excellence of his work.

The Masai at present inhabit the inland districts of British and German East Africa from the equator to about 6° S. Few of them are found north of the Line, except an isolated settlement just south of Lake Rudolf, and they seem to avoid both the sea and the great central lakes. Many smaller pieces of water, such as Lakes Naivasha and Nakuru, are found in their haunts, but they neither use boats nor catch fish. They are divided at present into two sections, one of which, called Il-Oikop, is agricultural and settled, while the other, or Masai proper, is entirely pastoral and nomadic. The difference between the two is evidently not ancient, for both speak practically the same language, and it is probable that the agriculturalists of the present time are nomads who have settled down. On the other hand, tradition does not carry the history of the tribe further back than a century at the most[1], and it would be rash to assume that the nomad pastoral state is primitive or very ancient. It is quite probable that there was a large agricultural settlement on the Uasin-Gishu plateau from which the more adventurous warriors detached themselves.

In East Africa the Masai are clearly distinguished by their language, customs, and appearance from the Bantu races (although the latter often imitate them, and have received a certain proportion of Masai blood), and equally clearly

[1] The genealogy of the medicine men goes back about 200 years.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

related to the Suk-Turkana and Nandi-Lumbwa[1]. Somewhat more distantly allied to the same stock are the inhabitants of South Kavirondo or Ja-luo. These races again show clear resemblances to some of the peoples who inhabit the banks of the Southern Nile, such as the Acholi, Bari, Latuka, Dinka, and Shilluk. The whole group are sometimes classed together as Nilotic, and have many peculiarities in common. Their languages show a considerable, though varying, degree of affinity; physically they are tall, thin men, with features which are not markedly negroid, and are sometimes almost Caucasian: several remarkable customs, such as the nudity of the male sex and the habit of resting standing on one leg, are found among them all. The closest connexion seems to be between the Acholi and the Ja-luo, and between the Masai, Latuka, and Bari. The Masai, Nandi, Lumbwa, Suk, and Turkana all possess in a more or less developed form a military organization which obliges all the male population, between the ages of about seventeen and thirty, to submit to a special discipline and constitute a warrior class. A similar organization does not seem to be recorded among the tribes who dwell along the Nile[2]. These latter are not a homogeneous group, so that the word Nilotic must be used with caution. The Madi, who occupy a large portion of the country between Lake Albert and Gondokoro and extend well to the east of the river, are linguistically different from their neighbours, and apparently represent an invasion from the west, though in customs they do not seem to differ markedly from the Bari.

A glance at the map will show that from the Rift Valley to the Nile there runs in a north-westerly direction a broad belt of non-Bantu languages, more or less allied to one another, Masai, Nandi, Suk, Turkana, Karamojo, Latuka, Bari, and Dinka. The Karamojo appear to be Bantus who have been forced to accept an alien form of speech. This distribution of languages seems clearly to suggest a south-eastward movement from the country between the north of Lake Rudolf and the Nile. The hypothesis is rendered more probable by the fact that in East Africa as elsewhere the course of invasions has been mainly from the north to the south. This is certainly

[1] The name Lumbwa is confusing. It is really a term of opprobrium applied by the nomadic warriors to agriculturalists of their own or allied races (not, apparently, to Bantus). Hence the 'L-Oikop are often called Lumbwa Masai. But the name is popularly and officially applied to a tribe closely allied to the Nandi who live to the south of the Nyando valley.

[2] Baker perhaps alludes to something similar among the Latuka whose young men, he says, live for fighting only.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

the case with the Gallas, Somalis, and Abyssinians (who are rapidly encroaching on the Protectorate), and probably with the Bahima. It also seems probable that the physical type of these races (Masai, Nandi, Turkana, Dinka, &c.) represents a mixture between the negro and some other factor. It does not seem to me possible to make any definite statement as to what that factor may be, but the neighbourhood of Egypt and Abyssinia renders several hypotheses plausible. Baker states that the appearance of the Latuka (who are probably the closest allies of the Masai) points to a Galla origin, and that there are Gallas on the east bank of the river Chol only fifty miles east of Latuka, which they have often invaded. It may therefore be that the Nilotic tribes, and possibly also the Hausas to the west, represent a hybrid of the negro and Galla.

There is absolutely nothing to show when the Masai moved southwards, but the traditions reported by Mr. Hollis (p. 264, &c.) seem to place the earliest history of the world in an East African setting, and convey no hint of an earlier home. The chief characters in these stories are the Masai, the Dorobo (hunting tribes), and the Bantu (Meek), and the principal event some arrangement by which the Masai obtain a right to all the cattle in the world. This seems to indicate that they must have been a long time in their present haunts, and have lost all remembrance of their origin. Some of the proverbs, such as 'The zebra cannot change his stripes,' and 'Mountain does not meet mountain,' have a familiar oriental ring; but it would be unsafe to speculate how they came to Masailand.

A very different view of the past of the Masai is suggested by Merker's recent work (*Die Masai*, Berlin, 1904). He regards them as belonging to the same stock as the ancient Hebrews, and quotes a great number of traditions respecting the creation, deluge, ten commandments, &c. which resemble the Biblical and Babylonian versions of primitive history. A critical examination of these stories is very desirable, as one cannot help suspecting that they contain elements borrowed from Christian or Mohammedan sources. On the other hand, in all questions affecting the origin of East African races, our only data are the most recent types of physique, religion, and language, and we cannot, as in the case of more civilized nations, go back two or three thousand years with comparative certainty. We can form no idea of how many strata of population such a period would represent in Africa; what mixtures and disruptions of races it would include.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

174 A tribe coming from the north like the Masai, and possibly at one time in touch with races influenced by ancient Egypt, may conceivably represent not an improvement of the primaeval African stock but a degeneration of some other race. Still, the accounts which we have of the Bari and Dinka ascribe to them the same vague belief in a supernatural power, which most inquirers have reported as existing among the Masai, and an absence of traditions respecting the origin of the human race[1].

175 648 The history of the Masai, as far as we know it for the last hundred years, presents as its most important feature a conflict between the pastoral and agricultural sections, ending in the victory of the former and the annihilation of large settlements of the latter. The conflict was disastrous for the race, for the portion which survived depended entirely on cattle and raiding for subsistence. The herds suffered severely from plague in the eighties, and the advent of Europeans and the gradual introduction of the Pax Britannica could not be otherwise than unfavourable to the pre-eminence of a tribe whose prosperity depended so largely on continually plundering their neighbours. Nevertheless from at least 1850 to the early eighties the pastoral Masai were a formidable power in East Africa. They successfully asserted themselves against the Arab slave-traders, took tribute from all who passed through their country, and treated other races, whether African or not, with the greatest arrogance. About 1859 they raided Vanga, on the coast near the present German frontier. Thomson (*Through Masai Land*, 1885) describes how, in 1883, they entered his camp and ordered about the whole caravan, including himself, as if they had been masters and the travellers slaves. This period of triumph was succeeded by [731] [64] one of disaster. Rinderpest attacked the cattle and small-pox human beings. The surrounding tribes who had suffered from their raids were not slow to revenge themselves for the oppression and plunder of the past, and a severe famine completed the catalogue of misfortunes. The numbers of the 161 175 Masai were undoubtedly greatly reduced, and at present those found in British East Africa only amount to a very modest figure, variously estimated at from 25,000 to 12,500. The latter estimate, which is the latest and perhaps the most correct, is based on the assumption that there are 7,500 in the

[1] See Mitterrutzner, *Die Dinka Sprache*, 1866, p. 56, &c. It is true that some expressions ascribed to the Dinka, such as 'We do not know—the wise men know,' might be interpreted as a consciousness of the loss of traditions.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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304 752 Naa, ten eata opa 'l-tuñiganak pôkin in-jilalo oo-'l-ala le-keper mme ana'-'ata eiyōuni nalefig im-bwat. Ore taata etamooki em-bwata.

[626] Tenedol il-Maasae ol-tuñigani lemebwa, nekwenikye aajo: 'Eñgárie 'sirkon en-daa.'

Had people formerly extracted the upper teeth, they would not have required the hole in the lower jaw. But now they have become accustomed to the latter.

When the Masai see a man who has not had the two middle incisors extracted, they laugh at him, and say: 'He eats his food like a donkey.'

Em-barnore.

302 Ebarn il-móruak oo' ñgorōyok oo 'n-gera oo-'l-Maasae 'l-lughuny oo 'l-papit loo-'ng-onyek le-keper, neput il-papit loo-'ng-onyek li-abori ten eirugo pe erim eng-oñgu.

Neput araki nebarn aii 'l-munyo oo 'n-gitikit oo 'n-goleshi; nepej kulikae 'l-papit loo-'l-oresheta, nepal kulikae.

Teni mepuroo il-muran, nemebarn il-lughuny metabana [574] nēuni, neitubulu 'l-taighan.

Ore ten eīu e-ñgorōyōni en-gerai, nemebarn ninye o en-gerai enye metabana nebulu

Shaving.

Masai elders, women[1], and children shave their heads and eyebrows, and pull out their eyelashes if they enter their eyes.

They also pull out or shave the hairs of the beard, armpits, and pubes, and some singe the hairs of their shins.

If warriors are not in mourning[2], they may not shave their heads until they have held the feast called e-unoto[3], and they grow pigtails.

When a woman gives birth to a child, neither she nor the child are shaved until the latter has four

[113] [171] [174] Sir H. Johnston, in commenting upon this, says (*The Uganda Protectorate*, p. 803): 'It may be this explanation has been invented recently to explain a very ancient custom inherited by the Masai from the Nilotic stock, which was their origin; for amongst these people the removal of the lower incisor teeth is a very common practice.' Hinde's explanation, however, appears to be very widely spread.

[171] [1] This very uncommon practice for women to shave their heads is also followed by the Dinkas, Baria, and Latukas (Cummins, 'Sub-Tribes of the Bahr-el-Ghazal Dinkas,' *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, June, 1904; and Baker, *The Albert Nyanza*, p. 90, &c.).

[2] *Vide* p. 306.

[3] *Vide* p. 299.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE MASAI.

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Origin of the Masai—Pastoral and Agricultural sections—Settlements of 'L-Oikop—Sir Charles Eliot's theory—European influence—Wakwavi—Early history of the Masai—The Masai as a power—Masai raids—Rebmann's visits to Chagga—Dr. Krapf—Dr. Krapf's description—Discovery of the source of the Nile—Dr. Fischer's tour to Naivasha—Mr. Thomson's journey through Masailand—Count Teleki's expedition—Mr. Jackson's journey—Dr. Peters—Masai and modern firearms—Decline of Masai power—A Masai raid—Cattle plague—Small-pox—Relations between Masai and Wakamba—Machakos Station—Ngong—Dagoretti—Relations between Masai and Kikuyu—Mr. George Wilson—Sack of Dagoretti—Trading treaty—Fort Smith—Masai hostile—Meeting at Muthaiga—Uganda Railway survey—Debates in the House of Commons—Position of the Masai in 1895—Removal to Ngong—Protectorate over Uganda—East Africa Protectorate—Kedong Massacre—Mr. Andrew Dick—Lenana's first visit—Sir Arthur Hardinge's report—Sir Charles Eliot's report—Inclusion of Uganda Provinces in East Africa Protectorate—Uganda Railway—Sir Charles Eliot's report, April, 1903—The year 1903-1904—Conclusion.

173 **Origin of the Masai.**

Little is known of the early history of the Masai tribe, but it seems to be an established fact that the original home of this people was the country between the north of Lake Rudolf and the Nile, from which area the Masai are said to have moved in a south-easterly direction so long ago that tradition does not recall any incidents of the exodus, nor the reason therefor.

101 173 **Pastoral and agricultural sections.**

It seems, also, that there were two distinct sections of the Masai, distinct in point of habits of life and customs, though not of language or ancestry, between which sections continual war was waged, wars which now form the greater part of the traditional history of the tribe as it is known at the present day to its members. The sections are usually defined as the agricultural and pastoral sections, the former, known as 'L-Oikop, being more or less settled, while the latter was entirely nomadic, and never practised agriculture in any form. Masai tradition does not extend back for more than one hundred years, but the history of that century shows, to the exclusion of all other topics, a conflict between these two sections, which resulted in the practical annihilation of the 'L-Oikop, who have now ceased to exist, with the exception of small settlements found at Nguruman, to the north of Lake Natron, two villages, Great and Little Njempa, to the south of Lake Baringo, possibly the so-called Uasin Gishu Masai, now located near Eldama Ravine, and in Kavirondo country, and certain individual settlements of Masai among neighbouring tribes, where they have assimilated the customs and adopted the language of their protectors, and from whom it is now difficult to distinguish them.

[361]

Settlements of 'L-Oikop.

174 114 **Sir Charles Eliot's theory.**

The theory suggested by Sir Charles Eliot, is that the nomad pastoral state cannot be assumed to be primitive or very ancient, and that it is quite probable that there was a large agricultural settlement on the Uasin Gishu plateau, from which the more adventurous of the warriors detached themselves.

197 **European influence.**

It is this conflict which made the Masai name what it was and which has rendered so complex the question of the administration of the conquering pastoral section. The victors depended entirely on cattle for their means of subsistence, and were driven to raiding other tribes, in order to amass sufficient herds of cattle. The introduction of the European element, therefore, deprived the Masai of their one pursuit, and had the inevitable result of reducing the Masai from the first to a very low rank of economic importance among East African tribes.

[721]

101 **Wakwavi.**

The term Wakwavi (Wakuafi of Krapf) is frequently used by the early writers in reference to the Masai, but it appears that this term has, in fact, no connection with the agricultural section, being merely a Swahili nickname borrowed from the Masai Kwavi or Kwapi, meaning places.

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884) 1887
FL12 Masai FL12

614 breed than others. The most aristocratic of these clans are
565 the Ngajè-Masai, Molilian, Lyserè, and Leteyo. These have the finest physical development, and are undoubtedly superior
142 to the others in the shape of the head, the less depressed nose, and thinner lips. Indeed,—but for the prominence of the cheek-bones, a tendency to a Mongolian shape and upward slant of the eyes, the chocolate-coloured skin, and the hair with a tendency to become frizzy—they might pass muster as very respectable and commonplace Europeans. The Ngajè-Masai are the purest breed, and are to be found chiefly around Kilimanjaro. The most degraded tribe physically is that which is known to the coast traders by the name of Wa-kwafi. They seem to have acquired a strain of negro blood, as will be perceived by an examination of the photograph of the Masai of Lykipia (p. 205).[1] The higher development of the Ngajè-Masai is seen in the photo of an aristocratic woman of Njiri.

634 The country is divided into about ten principal districts, such as Sigirari, Njiri, Matumbato, Kaptè, Dogilani, Lykipia, Guas' Ngishu, &c. The various members of the race are
[614] generally designated by their native district. Various clans may be found occupying the same district, but they usually keep in distinct kraals. Hence they speak of the "El-Masai Matumbato," or El-Masai Kaptè. Each district also is fur-
[714] ther distinguished by having special heraldic devices on the
[531] shields of the warriors, painted with wonderful skill and taste in black, white, red, or yellow colours. Between the
619 various sections of the tribe there is not the slightest cohesion.
628 Wars among themselves are of constant occurrence, though when a state of war is not declared, they are on the most friendly terms,—their feuds not being of that deep-seated character which distinguishes those of semi-civilized lands.

●174 Of these internal wars none have been so disastrous or so
628 oft-repeated as that between the main mass of the Masai and the Wa-kwafi (I here use the name for convenience). The original home of the latter was the large district lying between Kilimanjaro, Ugono, and Parè on the west, and Teita and U-sambara on the east. This large region is known to the Masai as Mbaravui. Some fifty years ago the Wa-kwafi were numerous and strong, able to hold their own against all comers. About 1830—as far as I can gather—a series of misfortunes fell upon them. In a great war-raid against the Wa-gogo to the south they suffered a severe repulse, and great numbers were slaughtered. The same

[1] [not processed.—Analyst]

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

disaster fell upon them shortly after, in a raid against their brethren of Kisongo. The saying that misfortunes never come singly was well exemplified by their case, for nature took up the work of ruin. A cloud of locusts settled on the land, and left not a blade of grass or other green thing, so that the cattle died in enormous numbers through starvation.

MASAI MARRIED WOMAN, NJIRI.

While the Wa-kwafi were in this unhappy plight, the Masai of the plains to the west fell upon them and smote them hip and thigh, and thus broke up and revenged themselves upon the most powerful division of the tribe. Great numbers having lost their cattle and been reduced to starvation, were compelled to throw in their fortunes with tribes they had hitherto despised. Some found an asylum in the forests of Taveta and Kahè, and the lower slopes of Mount Meru or

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Wa-Kwafi

174 Arusha-wa-jūū. Others, driven south, threw in their lot
166 with the Wa-zeguha, keeping tribally more or less distinct
from them. These are the hybrid tribes visited lately by
[797] the energetic missionaries, Messrs. Last and Baxter, and of
which such interesting accounts have been given in the
"Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society." Another
section of the Wa-kwafi was driven westward, and now
forms the colonies of Nderserria-ni and Nguruma-ni. The
establishment of these colonies has been an unmitigated
blessing to the country. In every case they have become
the centres of trade, where men's lives and goods are safe;
and indeed there is no more striking feature in the results of
the enforced change in the people's mode of life than the
remarkable development of peaceable habits and honest
ways. This shows what the Masai, from their distinctly
higher mental development, are capable of, when cut away
from their traditions and brought under conditions more
favourable to their advancement towards civilization. As
throwing light on the origin of minor races and the blending
of two distinct types as at Taveta, the subject is an interest-
ing study.

The Wa-kwafi were not all scattered thus, however, for a
large division of the clan kept together, and contrived to cut
their way through Kikuyu and to reach Lykipia, where they
settled.

175 Another section crossed the meridional trough and reached
726 the opposite half of the plateau in Guas' Ngishu. In both
districts they found superb grazing-grounds and plenty of
628 elbow-room, and there for a time they remained quietly, and
increased rapidly in numbers. At last their wars began
again. Grown bold, they attacked the Masai about fifteen
years ago. The opposing parties formed regular camps, and
fought pitched battles with great fury, thousands being
killed on both sides. The women stood by and watched,
while they incited and urged on the combatants in their
terrible hand-to-hand encounters. The Masai were at first
beaten, but, fighting with the stubbornness of despair, they
disputed every foot of ground. They were driven from the
whole of Naivasha and Kinangop, and their enemies, still
victorious, carried the war into Kaptè. Matters now changed,
however. The Masai of the entire region to the south
gathered together and came to the assistance of their brethren
of Kaptè. Soon the tables were turned, and the Wa-kwafi
were gradually forced back. The great majority of them

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

Mbugwe are Bantu. There is also a small group of Tindiga, leading virtually a bushman life in the Lake Eyasi basin, to whom reference was made in Section I.[1] There would appear to have been a movement both northward and southward on the part of the tribes, who were previously contained in a very small area by the Masai invasion of the early part of the century.

THE MASAI DISTRICT

The Masai District forms the southern portion of the large block of country in Tanganyika and Kenya, extending to no less than 21½ million acres in extent, occupied by the Masai tribe, whose numbers were given in the 1931 Census as 48,945 in Kenya and as 47,276 in the 1948 Census in Tanganyika. There will be found in the Chapter dealing with Kenya Colony further reference to the tribal characteristics of the Masai, and it will be sufficient to give here only those facts which bear in particular on the position they occupy in Tanganyika.[2]

The southern movement of this tribe from the neighbourhood of Lake Rudolf seems to have come to an end about the middle of last century, but its spearheads had in 1830 penetrated as far south as the Great Ruaha River and even to Uhehe in the Iringa District, whence they were driven back by the Gogo and Hehe. There were many isolated Masai raids after that time, but these were in the main carried out by Kenya Masai, whose incursions were directed towards the coastal areas on the east, and indeed took them on occasion as far as Mombasa. The Masai settled in Tanganyika do not seem to have attempted a further movement of any importance into the neighbouring areas of the Territory.

The Anglo-German Agreement of 1890 cut the Masai country into two parts, roughly equal in area, though the population remaining under the British jurisdiction was somewhat larger than that which fell under German rule. The result was to make an effective division between the Kenya and Tanganyika Masai, and though the two sections have retained a community of racial interest, this has not extended to the political field. Such political unity as the Masai people possessed had existed largely for war puposes, and in peace time political as apart from religious authority was dispersed among the headmen exercising control over the groups having a customary right of pasturage in particular localities. There was moreover lacking in the case of the Tanganyika Masai a motive which might have led them to identify themselves with the Kenya Masai, namely, the need for protecting their lands from alienation by Government for the benefit of Europeans. The troubles created in Kenya by the efforts of Europeans to secure possession of Masai lands[3] were not repeated in Tanganyika, where the Masai have remained undisturbed in the occupation of the country they held at the period when European rule was established.

The present Masai District comprises, in the north, the Loliondo area, the dominant feature of which is the vast Serengeti plain, with the extinct volcanoes which mark its southern end. In the centre, south of the Rift Wall, the plateau type of country is characterized by volcanic hill masses, which provide a number of permanent water sources. In the South lie extensive thorn scrub steppes, with a low and very variable rainfall.

Practically the whole of the area included in the District is used only for pastoral puposes. If tradition is correct in holding that the tribe was once

[1] See page 216.
[2] Page 168, Chapter II.
[3] See An Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve, G. R. Sandford, 1919.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

of ceremonial dances taken during the Jubilee Celebrations of King George V in 1935, and of water drawing from the deep pre-historic wells of Central Masailand.

A word about Masai terms; throughout clarity rather than pedantic accuracy has been the aim. Thus the anglicized "Laibon" has been used for *ol Oiboni*, "Unoto" for *e Unoto*, "Laiser" for *'l Aiser*, etc., i.e. the article has been retained or dropped as the occasion demands. Where the plural forms have become current in local administrative usage, e.g. Laigwanak, they have been retained, but in other cases their employment would merely have led to confusion. When anglicized or in common use, these terms have been left in standard print: when italicized the word or phrase is, as far as known, grammatically correct.

Finally, it was thought undesirable to burden the report with frequent references and footnotes. A list of the works consulted is appended.

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SECTION I. — HISTORY.

A. **Early History: the Exodus — origin of the Laibonok — southward penetration — consolidation in Tanganyika under Subet — origin of the Lumbwa or Kwavi — limit of expansion — dispossessed tribes — archaeological evidence.**

The Masai are generally regarded as coming from Nilo-Hamitic stock. From the known history of other tribes, and a comparison of various cultures with that of the Masai, it is believed that, some four hundred

• Fully illustrated.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

years ago, the latter were located in the area lying to the north and west of Lake Rudolph.

The Masai themselves carry their history back to a time when they lived in a lowland called Kieru; this cannot be other than the desert region lying between Lake Rudolph and the Kenya Highlands. The following is the story of their exodus from that area.

An elder, Maasinda, constructed a ladder or staircase up the scarp, which, till then, had prevented the Masai from moving south; on the plateau beyond he found good grazing and water. He consequently arranged to migrate, and he and his six sons, followed by the Laikipiak and the Kwavi, successfully negotiated the climb with all their cattle and possessions. The remaining Masai, who had previously been instructed to follow in an agreed order, then rushed the ladder, which broke under them. They were thus unable to follow.

The scarp is named Endigirr oo Namuga (the scarp of the sandals) and the country at the top Olkeju lol dugha (the river of palms). At this latter place Maasinda met with the Laitayok, the Uasingishu and Siria Masai, and the Kipsikis (Lumbwa).

Maasinda has become the culture hero of the Masai, to whom numerous legends have been attached. In one it is alleged that a woman, Naiterokop, came down from Heaven and bore two sons, Maasinda and ol Meek, this being the origin of the Masai and the Bantu. Maasinda is believed to have ordered the Masai to live at peace with their neighbours and, in the event of war, never to kill women or children. The invention of branding cattle as a means of identification is also attributed to him.

His six sons are also alleged to have been the founders of the existing Masai clans, Morungiro being the founder of the Laiser, Lolkesen of the Mokasen, Lesita of the Mamasita, Lelyan of the Molelyan, and Lesero of the Tarosero. The name of the founder of the Lughumae is not recorded.

The next event in tribal history is the acquisition by the Masai of the Medicine Man or Laibonok. The legend of the members of the Laiser clan finding a heaven-born child on Ngong Mountain is recorded by Hollis, who also gives a genealogy in which Lenana's name is the ninth. If thirty years is allowed for each generation (possibly an underestimate, since primogeniture is not the rule of succession), the first laibon must have been found about the year 1640. This agrees with all my informants, who state that this event took place prior to the earliest remembered age grade, i.e. before the beginning of the eighteenth century.

From the fact that the finding of the laibon took place at Ngong, it may be presumed that the period from the exodus to this event was one of slow penetration southward through the Kenya Highlands.

Contrary to the evidence previously recorded, it appears that the advance guard of the Masai had penetrated as far south as Usagara (Mpwapwa District) and made contact with the Hehe by the beginning of the nineteenth century. The story is that when the Merishari were reaching the age of circumcision, two big bomas penetrated into Gogo country to a place called Muli (Masai) or Lodi (Gogo) in search of grass. The leaders of the movement were two uncircumcised youths. One of

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the bomas subsequently returned north, the other went as far south as Usagara. Laibon Subet sent instructions to this boma to return, but they disobeyed his order so were brought back by force. The descendants of the members of this boma are to-day known as il Muli.

The first half of the nineteenth century was a period of consolidation in the area now known as Tanganyika. To nearly every area of the Masai District there is attached a legend of how, and by and from whom it was conquered; examples of these are quoted below.

The Lake Manyara area was in the old days inhabited by a pastoral tribe known to the Masai as il Adoru. From descriptions it would appear that this tribe was one of the branches of the Tatog group, possibly the Barabaig. The moran of the Merishari age had a pitched battle on one side of a rain pond or lake, now known as Balbal lol Merishari, and there defeated one half of the Adoru warriors. The remainder stood drawn up on the far side of the lake and urged the Masai to attack. The latter consequently waded into the lake until the water reached their necks, but were unable to cross. They were thus left floundering whilst the balance of the Adoru made good their escape.

The Kidotu age was responsible for the capture of the Naberera wells from the Lumbwa or Kwavi. The Lumbwa made their escape whilst each Masai was engaged in pegging out a claim to the captured wells. The Lumbwa laibon, father of the present one, closed the pass to the west of Naberera, Engamata o ndareta, by magical means, which prevented pursuit by the Masai. It is alleged that, to the present day, no Masai will pass the spot where the medicine was placed without throwing a stone on to a cairn which has thus grown up there.

A third story also concerns the Lumbwa, this time those of Sanya. Two Lumbwa manyattas, known as Sabuki and Sitet, fled before the onslaught of the earlier Dwati moran, and following down the Ruvu valley, then cut across country and inhabited an area near Kilosa known as Kilena. Here they fought with the local inhabitants; the Sabuki, being beaten, retreated back to Nguu country. The Sitet, however, penetrated southward, where they found a large crater similar to Ngorongoro. They closed the pass by which they had entered the crater with stones and wild fig trees, and there lived at peace till a German was led to the place by a dog.

It is as well at this point to examine the origins of these Lumbwa or Kwavi. The Masai regard themselves as having a common origin with the Lumbwa, and consider that only recently have the latter diverged from Masai ways and taken to agriculture. As evidence the Masai cite physical appearance, common language and customs, and historical data. On the other hand, Elliot in the introduction to Hollis talks of the agricultural and pastoral sections and says that "it would be rash to assume that the nomad pastoral state is primitive or very ancient." Hollis states that "the Coast people termed them without discrimination Wa-Masai or Wa-Kwavi, names which have been perpetuated by Krapf and others." It would appear that this lack of discrimination was due to the fact that at the time when Krapf was writing (circ. 1850) the Masai

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and Lumbwa were indistinguishable, merely two sub-tribes of a pastoral tribe, indulging in civil war; c.f. Krapf—"the two kindred tribes the Wakuafi and the Masai hate each other mortally, which is, however, a fortunate circumstance for the weaker African tribes"; Thomson also regards the Masai and Kwavi as two sections of the same pastoral tribe, and records in detail the ascendancy of the former. As he was writing fifty years ago, when all phases of the civil war were well within living memory, his account may certainly be accepted as correct. Elliot's suggestion that the nomads are offshoots from an agricultural Masai tribe is also discounted by legends recorded since he wrote, notably that of the exodus.

The first part of this section, dealing with events occurring prior to those within living memory, may well be closed with a review of the state of affairs circa 1869, a survey of the tribes dispossessed by the Masai, and an examination of any evidence throwing light on the era prior to Masai invasion. Subet, who died about 1860, was settled at Lashaine, below the present District Office at Mondul, with Rasharasha as his main water. He was surrounded by members of the Engidong clan at Musa, Engare ol Motonyi and Olgeju Lolera. The Arusha were established on the slopes of Mount Meru, and the Masai effectively occupied an area corresponding closely to their present boundaries. They had suffered a severe famine about 1830, but owing to the warlike efforts of the first Dwati age the country was by this time fully restocked. The Nyangusi, a few of whom are alive to-day (1939), were carrying on border wars with the Nguu, Gogo and Mbulu tribes, and it is doubtful whether Karatu, Talamai or Kiteto were as yet in Masai hands. On the other hand, they at this time possessed areas now lost to them, as for example the country between the east bank of the Ruvu and the Pare Hills, extending as far south as Bwiko; the alienated and reserved areas around Kilimanjaro, Meru and Mondul; and the country between the Naberera-Kibaya road and the Kondoa Hills, now lost to "fly".

To the west of, and also immediately below the Rift Wall, the country was probably inhabited by at least three tribes. the il Datwa lol Orokishu (Mbulu ?), the il Datwa lol Kuroto (Mbugwe ?) and the Sonjo. It seems likely that at any rate some of these tribes practised agriculture under irrigation, but that they possessed cattle also is almost certain. The Manyara area, as shown above, was in possession of the Adoru, a pastoral tribe, whilst the Mondul, Mweandet, Engare Nanyuki and Simanjiro areas were occupied by the Iligolala, again pastoralists, said to have been akin to the Masai.

Further south, Masai tradition of previous habitation, except by the various tribes of Dorobo, is lacking, owing to the fact that the Lumbwa and not the Masai evicted the previous occupants, if any. It is possible that the Nguu and Burungi tribes extended slightly farther to the north than they do at present, but existing climatic conditions indicate that, at most, these people have lost no more than a few border waters to the Masai.

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174 172 It is impossible here to digress at length into the realms of pure archaeology, with reference to the Olduwai man, obsidian flakes, etc., but any evidence which throws light on the type of life that the country supported prior to Masai occupation is of interest in relation to the type of culture which the Masai may be expected to attain.

Briefly, then, the evidence shows that immediately below the Rift Wall cultivation under irrigation was practised, and that east of the Rift the country had at one time been inhabited by a tribe fully acquainted with the arts of well-digging and dam-building. These people may have practised agriculture, but there is no evidence to show that they did; their water conservation measures certainly show them as being cattle keepers, since no agricultural community, drawing domestic water only, would sink 50 or 60 wells in one small area, as at Naberera. That a cattle owning community requires such numbers is obvious from the fact that the Masai use nearly every prehistoric well, and have opened many new ones in addition. These same people were possibly responsible for the dams on the south-east flank of Monduli mountain, and perhaps they constructed the irrigation system which the Chagga are alleged to have found on Kilimanjaro.

But the people who dug the Naberera, Makami, Ndedo, Ngasumet and Londergess wells were most certainly pure pastoralists, and were probably responsible for the construction of the rain ponds in this area. A rain pond, liable to dry up, is obviously as useless to a settled agricultural population, as a group of twenty or thirty wells in a confined area. But to a pastoral people two such sources of water in conjunction enable an otherwise inhospitable country to carry a large cattle population.

The only available evidence of settled habitation in the southern area is found near Makami and Londergess. In concentrated areas, one at each of these places, are to be found numerous large kitchen middens, composed of ash and refuse, and containing numerous pot-sherds, bones, and — most important of all — the clay mouths of native bellows, and the clinkers formed when iron ore is smelted.

Thus, throughout the whole of Masai District, the only signs of settlement are associated either with agriculture under irrigation, or with metal work. The rest of the evidence points to the fact that the country was inhabited by nomadic pastoralists. For this reason any other mode of living cannot be expected from the Masai unless by the provision of water a radical change is made in the environment.

B. Sub-tribes and Sections: Sub-tribes — Sections — Kenya Sections — Sections common to Kenya and Tanganyika — Laitayok, clan or section? — Salei — Serenget — Engaruka — Kissongo — Kitcto — Molbo.

619 The early history of the tribe has been summarized above; before turning to recent history, i.e. events occurring within living memory, it is necessary to define the sub-tribes and sections of the Masai, as a record of recent events is mainly a chronicle of civil war and strife between such units.

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634 they were found in 1928 by the Sonjo Patrol, and allowed to stay on in terms of the agreement made with the "Kenya Masai."

The other two sections included in the terms of this agreement, the Loita and Laitayok, were not in fact Kenya Masai at all. For a division of the Loita, called il Ndasagera, had inhabited the highland area round Loliondo, as far south as Lemunyani, since the Masai took possession of the country. The history of this section is bound up with that of Sendeyo, and is recorded below.

Likewise a division of the Laitayok possessed ancestral grazing grounds to the west of the area inhabited by the Loita, which, like those of the latter, were bisected by the inter-territorial boundary.

There are numerous other Masai found in many sections who call themselves Laitayok, and it is difficult to decide whether the name applies 174 to a clan or to a section. From the recorded legend (see Early History) 565 it would appear that they were not amongst the Masai who took part in the exodus, and even to-day a certain stigma attaches to them. When 634 inhabiting the country of another section they usually dwell apart, as for example, amongst the Laitokitok or at Engasumet; Ngongongare on south-east Meru mountain is also regarded as a traditional Laitayok area. Frequently the name il Mingana is used to distinguish the Laitayok from the "pure" Masai.

The probable explanation of their status is that they do in fact belong to a lower stratum; in some areas they have been absorbed by the section amongst whom they resided, and thus eventually came to be regarded as a *clan;* in other areas they were sufficiently numerous to enable them to retain their own grazing grounds, and to justify their holding tribal 634 ceremonies of their own. An example of the latter is the Loliondo group, who are rightly regarded as forming a separate *section;* or again the il Dala Lekutuk is reputed to be a section composed entirely of Laitayok.

Another section divided by the border is the Salei or Saleh who now inhabit the area immediately west of the Rift, from the Loita to the Ngorongoro Highlands. They are reputed to have been in the past an important and numerous section, with the true Salei living on the Sanjan Plain (known to the Masai as Salei, the Sanjan is a river) and various sub-sections; the il Merik at ol Donyo Gol, il Bokai on the Osopuku lol Datwa, and il Ngorongoro in the place which their name signifies. Apparently they, together with the Serenget, acknowledged Mako, brother of Mbatian, as Laibon. They are recorded in the "Administrative History" as following Sendeyo; their present nominal allegiance to Mondul is probably due to the conscious efforts of the administration to bring all the Loliondo Masai into the Kissongo fold.

The Serenget, as their name implies, live on the plains to the west of Ngorongoro, from Lake Eyasi to Engare Nanyuki. They were dispersed by famine and Loita invasion between 1890 and 1900, and only reassembled during the post-war period. The strength of their allegiance to Mondul is also very doubtful.

The Engaruka are a section who perhaps took their name from having maintained themselves through the famine of 1890 by cultivation at

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One is frequently told by elders that in the old days the laibon concerned himself primarily with the moran, giving them war charms, supervising their ceremonies, etc., his payment consisting of a share in the spoils of war. After the Unoto or promotion ceremony it appears that a special raid was undertaken, called *enoondorosi*, a portion of the produce of this doubtless being handed to the laibon. I should think, however, that the custom of collecting cattle by general levy on the Age, at some time after the ngeherr or 'passing-out' ceremony, is old established. When such cattle are presented to the laibon, it appears customary for him to decree a ceremony, and to supply charms for it free of charge. This, according to some elders, was the last official connection between the laibon and the age as a whole, except of course his natural association with the il *piron* elders concerning the initiation of a new age. Other dealings with him by the elders were in the nature of private practice.

Before concluding the reconstruction of a laibon's functions in the old days, reference may be made to certain *administrative actions* alleged to have been taken by certain past Laibonok. For instance Subet (7) is alleged to have recalled a section of the Masai who had penetrated far into Gogo country (see Sec. I), and when they refused to obey him, sent a body of moran to compel them to return. Again he is credited with transplanting some families of an agricultural tribe. il Kikoin, from Arusha Chini to the slopes of Mount Meru, to grow his tobacco, and to dig water furrows, notably the Engare ol Motonyi and the Engare Nanyuki; these agriculturists subsequently developed into the Arusha tribe. Mbatian (9), apart from his civil war activities, took such 'administrative action' as telling the Masai not to move at the time of the famine — in fact imposing a quarantine — and ordering the tribe not to resist the Europeans.

But it frequently happens that past events become linked with the names of important personages of the time, when in fact there was no connection between the two. This may have occurred at least in the case of those actions recorded above attributed to Subet. But even if this is not so, the few instances of executive acts undertaken by the laibon in the past are insufficient evidence on which to base any theory that the institution of the laibon at any time approached the status of chieftainship amongst the Masai.

The picture of a pre-European laibon may therefore be re-constructed as follows:—

He was primarily the medicine man of the moran, both in respect of war charms and of supervising and blessing their promotion ceremonies. As junior elders, the Masai still maintained contact with the laibon (paying ngeherr fees) and as il *piron* elders visited him on behalf of the new age. But except as private patients the elders seem to have done less business with the laibon than they do to-day. Administrative, executive or judicial functions were not part of a laibon's duties, though he could exert a certain amount of control by judicious advice. He was in no sense a paramount chief.

/xiv cont./

114 776 782 113 and their imageless worship of God ("they have definite prayers and they petition the deity more frequently and fervently than the surrounding tribes are known to do" /cited in English/), stand unquestionably, just as generally a comparison of the book by Hollis, appearing shortly after Merker's book, with Merker's Masai is the best apologia for the reliability of Merker's ethnological as well as linguistic observations.

114 • 174 Another outstanding African scholar, the praiseworthy, well-known linguist Carl Meinhof of Berlin (now Hamburg), has above all, and, to be sure, for linguistic reasons, turned against Merker's designation of the Masai as a "Semite people," and with that then also at the same time against their onetime ancestral home in Arabia (2).

[113] 2. Cf. his review in Zeitschr. f. Ethnol., 36, 1904, pp. 735-744.

But what the Arabist Schwally (in Giessen) said about the Masai traditions (Archiv für Rel.-Gesch., IX, 1906, p. 505), that here "features of Semitic origin are well grafted on African ones" (but "when and under what circumstances is hard to say"), also applies to the language, as I was able to convince myself by a thorough study of Hollis' book. Definite remains show that the Masai must once have been Semites, and, to be sure, Arabian Semites. This will be briefly discussed in what follows next.

174 197 [173] [113] [80] Not only does their own tradition teach that they came from the north, but this is also confirmed by a comparison of some of their number words with those /xy/ of the Cushitic languages (especially Somali and Galla) and of Nuba. One should compare the following lists, to which I have also further added the number words of Nandi, closely related to the Masai, from the new book by Hollis (The Nandi, their language and folklore, with Introduction by C. Eliot, Oxford, 1909):

M /xy conn./
• 194
197
802

	Galla	Somali	Masai	Masai	
1	tokko	kow	okor		1
2	lamm	labo	are	ang	2
4	afur	afar	angwan	angwan	4
6	jya	ló	illo	lo	6
7	torb	toddoba		kuuk	7
8	saddet	siddet	kyut	sit	8
9	sagal	sagal	sabuuk,pul	sukut	9
10		toban	tomon	tomon	10
20	digattama	labatan	digitom	digtom	20
30	soddoma	soddon	somo	somo	30
40	afurtama	afartan	arbon	arbon	40
50		konton	somo	konon	50
100		boqol	ip	pukol	60, 100

M 193 197 194 S 193 197 M 193 197 194

In the purely Semitic system, too, the Masai language is in very close harmony with the Galla and Somali, whereas in this respect the other Cushitic languages (cf. on this point my Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des alten Orients /Outline of the Geography and History of the Ancient Orient/, pp. 154 f.) show far more Nuba influence. The pure Semitic substratum of the so-called pattern of the imperfect /imperfektschema/ can also be clearly shown as lying at the root of the entire Masai conjugation: one should compare:

1. sing. *a-mdok*, I follow	pl. *ki-mdok-wa* follow
2. sing. *i-mdok*, you follow	*i-mdoke-mdoke*, you follow
3. sing. *a-mdok*, he follows	*a-mdok*, they follow

where, in accordance with a phonetic change to be observed elsewhere in Masai, ti is reduced to i and ki has arisen from ni, so that we may therefore presume as the oldest forms

S [193]

1. sing. *a-mdok*	cf.	Somali *aqaan*, I know		
2. sing. *ti-mdok*	"	"	*taqaan*, etc.	
3. sing. *ya-mdok*	"	"	*yaqaan*	
1. pl. *ni-mdok*	"	"	*naqaan*	
2. pl. *ti-mdok-ik*	"	"	*taqaanaa*	
3. pl. *ya-mdok-ik*	"	"	*yaqaanaa*	

/xv cont./

193 which is exactly the Semitic conjugation pattern transmitted from
191 Arabic to the Cushitic languages (for example, Arabic a-kun,
194 ta-kun, ja-kun, pl. nakun, takfud, jakfud). But otherwise, too,
19 Masai, even though its vocabulary /xvi/ and much of its grammar
194 are so greatly Africanized, shows many traces pointing clearly to
its onetime Arabian homeland. Among these I count the con-
junctions o, "and" (from wa), and the consecutive pe, "and, so
that," Hollis, p. 100, which is exactly the difference, so charac-
teristic for Arabic, between wa and fa, or the remnant of a
formation of singular nouns by the ending -a (il-akir, masc. ol-
akira, a single star, Hollis, p. xxi), or the double function of the
particle ma (both "not," likewise in Somali, and also "that," cf.
Arabic mā, "not" and "that which"), or also individual charac-
teristic words that can scarcely be taken as later loanwords, but
are to be regarded as ancient remnants, such as ararua, navel,
Arabic surra; sam, forest, Arabic sarw, forested mountains
(originally cypress forest); kunoni, blacksmith, Arabic kain;
remet, spear, Arabic rumh; morno, older man, husband, Arabic
maru'; ue, to fear, Arabic wara'a; sun and day fem. (night and
moon, on the other hand, masc.), cf. also Arabic šams, sun fem.,
and the expression al-lail wa 'n-nahār (1).

1. Nahār is an old (later no longer recognized as such) feminine form of the form fa'āl from nūr, "light"; lail is the masc. of laila (older lailat) with the same meaning, "night."

193 night and day, next to al-jaum wa 'l-laila. Pointing quite
191 specifically to the South Arabian Mahra language (thus the dialects
194 of Frankincense Land), from where so-called Ethiopian also stems,
are some plural formations of the Masai, such as eng-affin from
eng-af, il-apafin from ol-apa, etc. (Hollis, p. 25), cf. in Mahra
ehelthan (from sybel, flint), haidenten (from haidēn, ear); like-
wise Ethiopian enta (fem.), "which," and Masai enna, fem. of
ella, as well as the feminine article en (in contrast to masc. ol).
According to Hollis, p. 275, the Pleiades are only six stars among

According to Hollis, p.275,
/xvi cont./ the Pleiades are only six stars among
821 the Masai, likewise in the pictorial representations of South Arabian
171 tomb inscriptions (in contrast to the seven circles of the Babylonian
• 174 Nergal symbol): the name of the bearers of the religious tradition
192 of the Masai, el-kiboron, coincides strikingly with the expression
for priest, kabît, in the old Minaean inscriptions of Yemen (?).

[576]

2. Quite remarkable also is the correspondence of the Masai custom that when one is inside with her he plants his spear in front of the hut so that another will not enter (Merker, p. 109 and p. 158) with the similar custom among the southern Arabs (here only staff instead of spear) given by Strabo (Book 16). -- Also that the "speaker" stands at the head of the warriors is reminiscent of South Arabia (cf. kail, chief, actually speaker, as well as saijid, "master," probably has the same etymology, cf. Syrian sewâd, speech).

192 The specifically Ethiopian word dengel, "virgin" (originally prob-
197 ably "young woman" in general), is the same as the Masai en-
174 garamet, is the Arabic el-kulîfhat, and cowbell, eng-gurugur,
the Arabic al-gulgul, en-abere, spear, perhaps the Arabic al-ibra,
needle. The name of the liana species mogongora, from which
the Masai take a fragrant wood for therapeutic purposes (Merker,
p. 27 and cf. p. 196, ol-magirigirieni, a vanilla-scented perfume),
is very reminiscent of the South Arabian name for frankincense,
mugr, just as in general the reiteration of the second half of a
word, popular among the Masai (for example, gadandar, a /xvii/
tree name, airaiaraî, a shrub), is likewise in turn a peculiarity
of Ethiopian, where it is used especially for the formation of color
names (warakrk, gold-green : Hebrew jerakrak, hamalmîl, green,
but also dabarbîr, backlike : hill, and the Tigre plant names
gondefdafe, endufduf, amferfare, and handugdug). All these
[114] are definite traces that make Merker's naming of the Masai as
an originally Semitic and then, more specifically, an Arabian
people seem fully justified.

/xvii cont./

171 173 To come now to the early histories, it is to be emphasized at the outset that, for any Semitic people, every time we come to the early period, through linguistic comparison, research into names, and literary remains, we are already able to uncover a well-established stock of myths that come very close to the Biblical early history (dragon fight in connection with the creation of the world, tree of paradise and serpent, first parents, flood) and furthermore, as religion, a moon cult (worship of the stars) to be described [233] almost as henotheism. But we come across exactly the same thing, in its most original form, among our cattle nomads, the Masai, whereby it should further be noted that also among the oldest Semites, whom we have to think of more as nomads than as agriculturalists, cattle, as their mythology clearly teaches, must have played a great role, not perhaps the small livestock or the camel and the donkey, to say nothing of the horse, which only became known from Elam to the Semites here around 2000 B.C.

• 174 171 173 192 There is also the fact that among the Masai we find a series of positively ancient traits that bring us close to the East Arabian [illegible] to us most clearly only in the religion of the ancient Chaldeans (and then transformed into the more polytheistically stamped one of the Babylonians). To these belong first of all the struggle of the deity with the dragon Nenamir on the morning of creation: when Merker compares the word for dragon, en-diamani (fem.), with the Babylonian tiâmat (later popular pronunciation somewhat like tiamat), it is certainly not merely an accidental homophony, since the word for paradise, herio, also goes back to the Babylonian kirî, "garden," which in the Hammurabi period must still have sounded like the uncontracted kiriu (cf. similarly Nabû Nebo, at that time still Nabiu, and many other examples) (1).

1. When in Masai en-diamani also means fetus, embryo, Arabic again offers a striking analogy here: cf. Arabic el-ğinn (from el-ğanîn), "demon," but el-ganîn, "embryo."

/xvii cont./

• 174 171 173 Now in ancient Chaldean astrology this original dragon is the female lion-headed dragon with a long neck localized on the later picture of the crab and which, on the cylindrical seals, looks like a lion's or dragon's head sitting on a pole (her husband is the so-called vulture-dragon, the Kingu of the Babylonian Epic of Creation); according to Hollis (p. 265), however, nenaunir means "the one /fem./ on the pole" and she was originally a lion (or half lion, half human being with which one /xviii/ should compare the Chaldean counterpart of the twins, the Janus-headed centaur that has a lion's and a human head). Furthermore, the name of the morning star, kilegen, which is precisely the Babylonian girgilu, "hen," belongs here; cf. the name of Venus, Nin-dar-anna, mistress of the hen of heaven (also masculine, corresponding to the nature of the morning star as contrasted to that of the evening star, Nin-dar-a of Gudea), which, as Gašan-Gir-gi-lu, already occurs in old Sumerian hymns (C. T. XV, 23, cf. Reisner, Hymnen /Hymns/, p. 138, lines 126 ff.). The sacred number of Ištar (South Arabian masculine Aṯtar), fifteen, also plays a role in connection with Masai births; among the previously neighboring ol-Tongoni people (cf. the Abyssinian Tongues?) for the birth of a boy the mother had to remain in the hut 30 days, for that of a girl, about 15 (30 is moon-number, cf. Babyl. Sin 30, his daughter Ištar 15), Merker, p. 392, where the 15 gourd bottles with which the young man asks the father of the girl for her are also to be noted. If the three-headed serpent of paradise was called ol-arassumet because it lived in the reeds (= ol-rossua), it is also tempting to think here of a specific Babylonian word, namely, rušumtu, mud, swamp (at the latter, indeed, the reeds grow).

With regard to the individuality of the Masai legends, it is entirely original and, in spite of all the connections with the Biblical early history, a wholly independent impulse from the same source. This is expressed above all in the fact that for the most part quite different names occur; thus, Maitumbe corresponds to Adam (perhaps from a collateral form of Adam, ma'dûmu or maidûmu?), Tumbainot to Noah, Oschomó, Barímaro, and

/xviii cont./

• 174 171 173 Barmáo to his three sons, Sem, Ham, and Japhet, Narabá, or his double Metene, to Moses (cf. Metene and Rise = Moses and Aaron), Isaac to Mutari, etc. What has not yet been noted, however, is the quite similar predilection for popular etymological explanations, which are given for every Masai name of this early history. If one compares the respective Hebraic explanations for the names Eva /Eve/ (Gen. 3, 20), Kain /Cain/ (4, 1), Seth (4, 25), Noah (5, 29), Abraham (17, 5), Isaak /Isaac/ (21, 6), Jakob /Jacob/ (25, 26), Ruben /Reuben/ (29, 32), etc., etc., up to Mose /Moses/ (Ex. 2, 50) and Samuel (I. Sam. 1, 20) with the name interpretations of the Masai myths, likewise often far-fetched, for example, Naiterogob (= Eva) called her second son Nabe because he had moved (ebe) violently in the womb, or Nairascho gave birth to a son and called him Serea because the ox slaughtered by the father after the birth was spotted (sera), then with this fondness pervading the one side and the other to explain in some fashion all the ancient traditional names, one must exclaim in astonishment with Adam: This is now bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh (that is, parallel organic further development of a common tendency of early times, namely, the same natural disposition). The objection of skeptics that missionaries (whether of more ancient times, say, of the first Christian centuries, or more recent ones is immaterial) told the Masai those stories in the Biblical style (and together with those Biblical etymologies) and the latter then changed them in accordance with their understanding and mental life, that is, /xix/ assimilated them completely into their own national experiences, and, to be sure, also freely copied the interpretation of the names, completely misses fire here; it would be almost a greater miracle than the simple assumption offered by Merker that the Masai brought all these traditions from their Arabian original homeland, and that they (these ancient traditions) run parallel with the Hebraic ones and both are based on a Chaldean or East Arabian original

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• 174 171 773 that has been lost to us (1).

1. With regard to the references to those Biblical popular etymologies cited above only with numbers, at least an example should be given for those who do not happen to have an Old Testament readily at hand. Genesis 25, 25 says: "the first of the twins that came out of the womb was red (admōni, play on the word Edom) and was (rough) like a hairy garment (se'ar) and they named him (therefore) Esau ('esau, where the accord between se' in se'ar and 'es in 'esau is sufficient evidence); after that came out his brother, whose hand took hold of Esau's heel ('aqeb), and they therefore named him Ja'qob." Actually, however, Jakob /Jacob/ goes back to a more complete form Jakob-el (in which God is the subject, therefore roughly: there follows on the heel God, that is, he rewards or punishes).

Indeed, in any case the matter is and remains amazing enough even so, but the imageless monotheism of the still so savage Masai, disputed by no one, is also a marvel and, up to now, unparalleled among the peoples of Africa.

114 773 171 I come now to the early history itself, which Merker, in Section II of his sensation producing Fourth Part, has already compared, bit by bit, with the corresponding features of the Biblical tradition. It should be noted in this connection that the deceased, who, as he told me himself, had no longer concerned himself with the early history of Genesis since his childhood, did not recognize all the correspondences at once, but rather had overlooked a few very important ones. Sellin, who himself wrote a brochure in 1905 on "die biblische Urgeschichte /the Biblical early history/ (in the Biblische Zeit- und Streitfragen /Biblical questions of the time and controversial ones/, by Boehmer and Kropatschek, Lichterfelde,

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114 793 171 If one considers how common Arabian tribal and personal names, such as el-'Âmir, 'Amîra, 'Imrân (from 'Amirân), are, there is not the slightest reason, in connection with the Ameroi, to think of the Amorites, who have played a role only in Palestine and came from the north. More likely ol-Eberet, if not to be compared with, say, the Arabian al-Abrahat (Abyssinian Abraha, which, in any case, is generally equated with the Hebraic Abraham) or another similar-sounding Arabian name, might be identical with 'Eber, the mythical ancestor of the Hebrews, especially since ol-Eberet's son Gereûa sounds remarkably similar to Eber's grandson Re'û (LXX Ραγου, hypocorism of Re'û-el, Reguel) Gen. 11, 18, which again, however, only points directly back to East Arabia, the original seat of all the western Semites, since the district 'Eber-Peleg (2)

2. Cf. in this connection my Grundriss /Outline/ (Munich, 1904), p. 184, note 1.

roughly coincides with the Arabian district of Jemâma.

793 171 • 174 While the Masai early histories, as they finally became available to Merker after prolonged effort, are still being carefully guarded by a few of the older people, there are also among the myths generally widespread among the Masai, such as also became known to Hollis in British East Africa, some that are to be regarded as clear echoes of the sacred myths. Among these I count /xxii/ what Hollis relates (p. 270) about the god Naiterukop (the word, however, has the feminine article, thus the originatress of the earth, the foremost of the land), where therefore the Eve of the Masai has become a deity, whereas the reverse would be much less understandable; or the lowering of the cattle from heaven (Hollis, p. 270; cf. Merker, p. 359), or the story of Le-eyo's disobedience (Hollis, p. 271), in which I see a faint reminiscence of Merker's account of the fall, so strikingly coinciding with the Bible. If one considers how widespread the placing together of the tree of paradise and serpent was in the ancient Orient (up to the Greeks), then the preservation of this particular

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793 171 174 feature among the Masai, with all the rest, is not so astonishing (1).

1. Incidentally, I should like to point out that the name of the old medicine man Lesigiriäschi, Merker, 25, 386, is certainly to be compared with the name i-Sigiriaischi, which the Somali bear among the Masai (Hollis, p. 30).

114 793 I conclude these considerations with the certain expectation that now, when my deceased friend's book comes out for the second time, the early histories of the Masai will no longer encounter the skepticism to which they were exposed when they first became known, but that they will now be duly appreciated for their as yet incalculable importance to the history of religion, as they deserve to be. And I repeat once more [174] [177] that a Christian or Jewish influence, perhaps even in early times (at all events through the Christian Nuba of the third century A.D., or through the Jewish Falascha /Falasha/ on the borders of Abyssinia), from the older northern dwelling-sites of the Masai, is quite out of the question, since one would then, as Merker already emphasized, necessarily have to expect not only connections with the Biblical early and patriarchal histories up to the lawgiving, but also with the later parts of Biblical history (and above all some allusion to the Gospels, if Christian missionaries are to be considered). The previously discussed connections with the Chaldean early histories, and, to be sure, at points not touched on by

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First Part

I.

000 The Semitic immigration to Africa. -- Only traces still give evidence of the oldest immigrants. -- Later immigrants: Wahuma and Watussi, Tatoga, Masai, Egyptians. -- The Masai as Semites. -- Somatically the Jews are not Semites.

• 174 The Masai belong to the great Semitic family of peoples whose ancestral home is the Arabian Peninsula, as the nursery of the Semites. Famine, as a consequence of overpopulation, with which the productive capacity of the poor soil could not keep pace, was probably the reason that gradually, in the course of millenniums, drove the individual Semitic peoples out of that ancient area of habitation and forced them to seek new pasturelands. The stream of peoples thus forced out of the north of the Arabian Peninsula took essentially two routes: one part wandered across the African-Asiatic land bridge into the dark continent, the other kept to a northerly course and remained in Asia.

According to the picture that the interior African Semite peoples present to the investigator today, one can not assume that still existing communities or even merely unmixed individuals have been preserved from the oldest immigrants. On the other hand, it is to be expected that with a thorough investigation of the sedentary Negro peoples (1)

1. I designate as Negro /Neger/ or Nigritian /Nigritier/ the big-boned African peoples whose bodily structure is thickset to heavy, whose facial features are "Negroid," that is, exhibit thick, protruding lips and broad, low noses, and whose skull is rather markedly prognathous. One cannot as yet trace their origin beyond the borders of Africa, hence for the time being they are regarded as original inhabitants of Africa.

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• 174 around the equator traces of them will still be found. Such traces (2)

2. I found such traces in Iraku and Umbugwe, but the material collected does not yet permit any definite conclusions.

may exist in the presence of a greater number of individuals in whom, through the energy of hereditary transmission, a pronounced Semitic type has been preserved; furthermore, in the presence or, probably /2/ more accurately, predominance of the basic ethnographic traits peculiar to the Semites, and finally also from remnants of their language. I purposely put the latter only in third place here, because up to now too much value has been attached to it in the determination of races, even of mixed races, and linguistics still much too often claims for itself alone the decision as to which human race a people is to be included with. That a people might change its language by no means stands isolated in history. One merely thinks of the Visigoths in Spain or -- what is closer to us -- the Germans in Hungary and in the Baltic provinces, in order to realize what a few decades can accomplish in this respect. But what the peoples nowadays relinquish drop by drop was reached more rapidly and thoroughly in antiquity, where often enough all the mental life proceeded from the priests of the state religion.

But let us return to the interior of Africa.

With regard to the Semitic peoples of East Africa, at present we still lack the necessary foundations to determine precisely the sequence of their immigration.

000 For example, there are the Wahinda and Wahuma, whose place in the Semitic immigrations to Africa is still very uncertain. Those who have recognized them as Semites regard them as the oldest traceable immigrants. I must reserve judgment, since I do not know these people personally, and I shall limit myself to offering the following for consideration. The somatic characteristics of both nations, the energy in preserving the purity of

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T 174 band of Masai people, and then sought new places of residence in the neighborhood of Usukuma. Friction with the natives there seems to have been the reason that part of them wandered back to T [361] [178] [241] [181] the southeast again and, after a futile attempt to move into Umbugwe, settled down in the vicinity of Iraku and Ufiomi. How little they succeeded in accomplishing the transition from nomads to agriculturalists is clear from the fact that they are the Blacks just about the most degenerate in filth that I have ever come across, and that they still always live by sponging from the long-sedentary neighboring peoples.

M • 174 The Masai, to a description of whom the present study is devoted, immigrated to Africa later than the Tatoga in my opinion. In the second chapter of the fourth part I arrive at the postulation that the immigration of the Masai may not have taken place after the period of the fourth dynasty of the Pharaohs.

One of the last Semitic immigrations by way of the Isthmus of Suez in antiquity is that of the Egyptians (1),

> 1. Linguistically, too, the affiliation of the Egyptians with the Semites is now definite, according to the results of Erman and Sethe. [At the least they are a mixed people with a strong Semitic strain.]

who there became the founders of that high culture. They closed the gate of Africa for further immigrations of larger masses of people. From then on, therefore, the stream of peoples went from Arabia essentially to the north. True, there was no lack of attempts by Semites driven out of Arabia later, following the old routes, to penetrate into Africa. But mighty Egypt prevented this -- fortunately for those peoples. The old Israelites should therefore have been grateful to the Egyptians for halting their migration, instead of complaining that they were drawn on by them for labor, which, to be sure, may indeed not have been easy for them as

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• 174 free and work-shirking nomads (2).

2. I in no way want to maintain here that the stay (as well as the entering and leaving) of the children of Israel in Egypt described in the Hexateuch is historic; rather I suspect that this recital has two or more events worked up in it: the first great encounter of the old nomadic Hebrews with the Egyptians, and the later military encounter between Egyptians and Jews, especially in the Ramses II period.

/4/ On the point of the affiliation of the Masai with the Semites a few more words seem necessary, especially since by earlier travelers -- insofar as I know their works -- they were always taken for Hamites. With respect to its race a people is to be judged from three points of view: according to its somatic characteristics, its psyche and its visible expressions, and, finally, according to its language. In the first direction Dr. v. Luschan has already recognized the Masai as Semites. On the second point, I believe it is to be proved in the following, and, concerning the language, a study by Deeg, unfortunately still not yet published, will furnish lucidity on it.

000 May I be permitted here to advance to a still rather widespread misconception. When the layman hears of Semites, he thinks, as a rule, of people who outwardly are similar to, or closely resemble, the modern Jews. Now this is completely false, since the Jews, in general, are no longer Semites. They were this as a strong nomadic people; but already during the transitional stage from nomadism to a partial, occasional sedentariness there began the blood mixing, which, after complete sedentation, became especially vigorous and through that the bodily form very greatly changed and developed into a new one (1).

1. The Bible in various places tells about the mixing of the Hebrews with the Hittites. First

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174 142 The Semites are tall, slim figures with agreeable, finely chiseled facial features, narrow, often large, but not unhandsome noses, and small, not rarely actually pretty feet and hands.

000 Among the present-day Jews the pure Semite type is probably not frequently represented. The Jews of Aden seem to me to exhibit it still at its purest. On the other hand, the majority of the present-day Jews show more or less clearly /5/ characteristic features of the Hittite race, of whom we know that one of the tribes affiliated with them, the Mitani, formed a mighty realm as early as the beginning of the second millennium, the boundaries of which extended south as far as the Lebanon, and which may earlier have already sent ahead swarms of people to the south. About the fate of these forerunners neither Egyptian or Assyrian accounts nor their own monuments or inscriptions give us information, so that for the present we probably may assume that they merged with foreign peoples -- of the Semite race -- whereby they passed on to them their unhandsome somatic characteristics. We know the latter in their original state only from the monuments left to us. According to them, the Hittite type is characterized by markedly brachycephalic heads, dark hair, dark eyes, large hooked, fleshy noses, a markedly receding forehead, prominent cheekbones, large bones, and, conditioned by that, a heavy bodily build.

174 142 Now we find the somatic characteristics ascribed above to the Semites represented neither in each Masai nor their totality in the majority of the Masai. Rather, the latter shows the above type in a more or less coarsened form, which, nevertheless, a practiced eye recognizes without difficulty as Semitic and is able to distinguish from that of the Nigrito-Semitic or Semito-Nigritic mixed peoples and which even the novice will not take as "Negroish."

174 121 May it already be said here in advance that I regard the Masai as descendants of those nomadic Semite peoples who belonged to the pastoral tribes of the most ancient Hebrews. I believe I have proved this surmise in the following -- especially in the fourth part of the present study.

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II.

000 The East African steppes as habitation area of the Masai people. -- Their immigration in three corps. -- Their battles. -- Division and distribution of the land among Masai, Wakuafi, Wandorobo and their attitude toward one another. -- Influence of the Masai people on the sedentary tribes. -- Mixture with Negroes. -- The somatic characteristics of the three branches of the Masai people show their racial connections, the ethnographic ones their social connections.

131 Between the 34th and the 38th degree of longitude and the 3rd degree north and the 7th degree south latitude, in German and British East Africa, we find large steppes, which are often designated as the Masai steppes after their inhabitants. They are bounded by hilly lands that are mostly thinly populated, especially by sedentary Negro tribes, and are more or less well cultivated.

133 The terrain formation of the steppes is sometimes flat, sometimes undulating or rolling, sometimes hilly and, in this case, usually determined by volcanic activity. This stands out especially drastically on the Kenia /Mt. Kenya/, Kilimandscharo /Kilimanjaro/, Meru, and Ol Donjo l'Eng ai, on the latter of which, for example, on a narrowly circumscribed space /6/ between the steep slope of the Mutiek Plateau, the Gilef and Timbati mountains, hill follows hill and almost every one bears or conceals the ruin of a crater, a landscape such as we are familiar with from photographs of the moon.

13 [182] The extent of the steppes, in connection with the existing amount of precipitation and water sites, made them a more than adequate region for a stock-raising nomadic people. The very saliferous soil produces excellent fodder grasses and provides salt licks in countless places.

17 131 • 174 As far back as the history, the memory and tradition of the people of these regions extend, and certainly still many, many centuries longer, these steppes were, and are up to the present day, the arena of the Masai people. On the migration, or, more accurately, slow push, they came from the north, out of the

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• 174 original homeland, which is to be sought in the northern part of the Arabian Peninsula. Only at the equator did the march to the south stop. Here the Masai found not only steppe regions such as they required for their herds, but also tribes of people such as they needed, as victims of their war expeditions, for their own survival.

000 The agriculturalist finds his sustenance in the soil; the one who carries on agriculture and stock raising finds in the former an adequate livelihood, even during periods that are unfavorable for stock raising, and he can, through the more stable trade relations that he owes to his sedentariness, acquire the new breeding animals that are needed to prevent too extensive an inbreeding of the livestock. On the other hand, a culture-poor nomadic people that lives solely and only from the livestock is in a much more unfavorable position. Merely to protect the herds from degeneration, a constant supply of breeding animals on a large scale is an urgent necessity. Moreover, because of the rinderpest, periodically appearing and in Africa, unfortunately, almost never dying out, and other epidemics, ruin very often threatens the stockbreeder, if in such cases he has no opportunity to replace his losses as quickly as possible and to obtain vegetable food in the meantime. Steppe peoples are aggressive, and for culture-poor peoples in
[101] general might always comes before right. There now live in the mountain lands lying on the borders of the steppes, and in the ones enclosed by them, Negro tribes who, in relation to the Masai, held together by firm organization and a high degree of tribal arrogance, and exceedingly mobile, are very immobile, for one thing, but then also are bound together within their own tribes only by a greater or lesser degree of herdlike obedience. They
[439] are accustomed to seeing, even in their sedentary neighbors, their born enemies; they live constantly at war among themselves, even in a small space, since often each village is independent, and thus must have been desirable neighbors for the Masai, from whom the latter could at any time obtain both vegetables and, what was of special value, livestock.

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In three mighty corps that followed one another at long intervals, the Masai people came from the north drawn toward the equator. The long separation from one another in space and time, their different length of residence in the new East African homeland, and the different shaping of their fate conditioned by that make them appear to us today as three branches of the Masai people.

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The remnants of the earliest immigrant band are the Asá, more generally known under the name of Wandorobo /Wandorobbo/ (a Bantu formation from the Masai word El dorobo = the poor), of whom they form only a part.

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Although the tradition of the Asá has nothing to say about a former possession of livestock, one must nevertheless assume, especially on the basis of their ethnography, that they immigrated as stock-raising nomads and, as such, took possession of large parts of the steppes. Wars among themselves, livestock epidemics, and, finally, the pressure by the Tatoga weakened the Asá to such an extent that it was easy for the second band of Masai, the El kwafi, the first sections of which were the El lumbwa, and the later ones the El muli, when it came in, to drive out the ruined ones altogether. A part of them found refuge among the neighboring agriculturalists, with whom they merged, another part among their oppressors, who adopted them as members of the tribe: the rest, however, withdrew into the forests and bush of the steppes, where still today, in great poverty, they make a poor living by hunting.

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The fate of the Asá, however, was not to be spared the El kwafi either. After a rather long period during which they competed with the Tatoga for dominion in the steppes, the rinderpest appeared again several times and, as before, brought poverty and death. And again, as before, the one misfortune did not remain alone. The third band, the El masai (sing. ol masani), immigrated here from the north, and it looked as though it would rapidly complete, by means of bloody fighting, the destructive work of the epidemics. But the presence of the Tatoga, who in places were just as powerful as they were feared, diverted the bellicosity of the Masai. They joined the El kwafi for the common fight against the former.

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000 against the former. The El kuafi recognized the chief (ol oiboni)
• 174 of the Masai as also their own and seem for a long time to have
184 been on the best of terms with them. Then -- so the tradition
669 tells -- a girl named Matangó, from the family of the ol oiboni
619 Sitonik -- she is usually designated as his sister, more rarely as
726 his aunt -- took a fancy to a member of a legation of El kuafi
[073] warriors sent to Sitonik and went away with her lover. When she bore him a son, the El kuafi proclaimed him their ol oiboni and at the same time refused to obey Sitonik. With this the war began between Masai and El kuafi. They lasted -- so it seems -- the entire first half of the nineteenth century and occurred sporadically even in the second half of it. One of the decisive battles was at Kisongo, a six-hour march west of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, where later on the chiefs of the Masai took up their permanent /a/ residence. *The ones driven away went into the rugged forests of*
[466] Meruberg, where they lived for a long time in constant strife with the Masai, until the chief Mbatyan completely subjugated them and forced them into compulsory service. Other battles took place near Ngurumán, north of Lake Natron: the rest of those conquered still live there, mixed with Wasegedju from nearby Sonjo. The
[361] remnants of the ones defeated in the Serengeti steppe are still to be found in Taveta, Kahe, Aruscha-tschini. The first battles between Masai and El kuafi probably took place in the vicinity of Kenia /Mt. Kenya/, and led to making the latter sedentary.

One of the last great clashes was in the steppe area Sogonoi: the ones conquered fled to Ngujuka and then farther to Useguha and Mahga, where they founded a settlement under the chief 'Lemá.

174 The Masai took a few individuals from among the defeated
184 into their community. The rest split up. One -- larger -- part
619 became sedentary and formed some colonies in the vicinity of
[361] foreign tribes or merged with other tribes. Another -- smaller --
[721] part at first made a living for a time from hunting, until it
[231] succeeded, by means of raids against sedentary peoples, in coming
[101] into the possession of livestock again. Today they again live wholly as before and are distinguished from the Masai only by

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the name El muli. Those who became sedentary, however, are designated by the Masai as El lumbua and also as El kuafi -- probably because they constitute the main part of the old El kuafi. The caravan people, accordingly, call them Wakuafi, while they make no distinction between El muli and Masai and even impose on the former the name of the latter.

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In contrast to the El muli, who have remained pure, the El lumbua of all the settlements are more or less strongly mixed. In places the degree of mixture is so great that at first glance one scarcely recognizes the somatic features characteristic of the Masai people; in places, however, it is also still so slight that any mixture at all can only be determined by thorough investigation.

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A last group[1], finally, became hunters, the El asiti. This is the second branch of the Wanderóbo; the third and most recent, the El gasurek, arose from the Masai themselves, in that those impoverished by livestock epidemics were forced to a new means of subsistence.

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Even up to 17 years ago the Masai were the lords of the vast steppes in German and British East Africa, when the European occupation brought about a change. The entire land inhabited by them is divided into three provinces. The Kisoñgo Province embraces those steppe regions that lie south of the line, extending east-west, connecting the peaks of Kilimandscharo and Meru. North of this lies the province of Loita, and still farther north, embracing the region of Lake Naiwascha, the province of Ol bruggo. In earlier times a part of Loita called El serehget seems /9/ to have temporarily formed a province by itself. Each province (ol oscho 'bo = a province) is divided into districts (eh gob = the land), and these again into areas. Most of their names are proper names that can not be translated; others are chosen from local peculiarities, for example, springs, brooks, hills, mountains, trees, etc. The inhabitants often name themselves after the individual provinces or districts and then speak of Kisoñgo-Masai, Loita-Masai, Serehgeti- or even Kiteto-, Moibo-, Sogonoi-Masai, etc. Earlier travelers often mistakenly took this designation for tribal names. Similarly, the word ol oikob has been misinterpreted,

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1, [The reference is to the last group of the original Kwafi--Analyst]

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eyes are almond-shaped, straight or somewhat slanted. The nose is extended, narrow, and, at the root, flat or very moderately deep-set compared to the forehead. The alae are narrow and very flat, the nostrils roundish to longitudinally oval, less often transversely oval. The bridge of the nose is straight, sometimes slightly convex. The lips are full, without appearing actually protruding. Protruding, thick lips are something so rare and striking that they earn their owner the name Lebeleb -- thick lip (or actually: uproar, loud noise). The ears are small, except for the hyperplasia of the upper edge of the ear and ear lobes caused by the wearing of heavy ornaments. The hair is evenly distributed over the scalp, which is most clearly shown on recently shaved heads. The hair often appears "tufty," but this is artifically produced. Only at a length of from one to three centimeters does it curl slightly and /14/ almost never becomes completely curly. The arms and especially the legs are very long, the wrists thin, hands and feet, especially among female individuals, small, narrow, and delicate, the fingers are slender and often strikingly long and narrow, the fingernails long, narrow, and slightly arched.

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Even if the racial membership of the three branches were to be traced anthropologically, one can determine an even closer connection ethnographically, which must lead to the conviction that all three belong to the same people. The difference in their principal occupations, to be sure, seems at /Ill. 3 appears here/ first glance to indicate a sharp division. As has already been pointed out above, however, one can easily explain these differences by the consistent behavior of a people of similar customs and habits under unlike external circumstances. The predilection for stock raising, based on the eagerness for a meat diet, and the nomadic life necessarily growing out of it were common. While the Wandorobo had to endure it when their livestock fell victim to epidemics and raids of the strong Wakuafi, the latter, under pressure from the still mightier Masai, had to flee from the open plains to fixed residences in the mountains. The Wakuafi protected

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Ill. 3. Young Masai. 2 and 4 pure-blooded, 3 mixed with Negro blood, 1 doubtful.

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The Wakuafi protected what remained of their livestock by giving up their roving life, whereas the Wandorobo, by sacrificing their herds, were able to continue their fancied nomadic life as hunters; and neither of them needed to forgo the meat diet.

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/15/ Even though, in general, one should be very careful in ethnology about drawing conclusions from linguistic bases, it seems permissible here, on behalf of the three branches belonging to one people, to point to their language as well.

As a matter of fact, we find the same language among the Masai and Wakuafi, with the limitation that for the latter, with the great number of Masai dialects, sometimes this one, sometimes that one is their own, according to the location of their area, whereas the very widely ranging Masai probably understand almost all the dialects. In addition, for the Wakuafi, in places, according to the degree of their mixture with Negro tribes, a language of the latter's is more or less familiar. Of the Wandorobo, the El ganonek speak only the language of the Masai, whereas the Aak and

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the El aiki also have their own Ildoro, which will be briefly discussed at a later place.

Corresponding to the uniformity in language, the number words are the same among the Masai and Wakuafi, whereas the Aak and El aiki have their own words for only a few numbers, but in general always make use of the ones used by the other two branches. One finds a complete correspondence for all three branches in their religious view, and the manner of circumcision customary among both sexes. The peculiar circumcision of the boys is practiced by no other people at all, with the exception of one lineage of the Tenga, closely related to the Masai people. In birth and death, too, all three have the same customs, while in the rest of their customs one finds only unessential differences which are based solely on the difference in their external way of life. The most striking proof for the three branches' belonging together, however, lies in their descent.

The people as a whole are divided into three large tribes, the Il oiker, the Il oodelyan, and the Il oonigana, each of which is made up of a number of lineages, and every Aak, as well as every Ol loodi and Ol mamaai, is a representative of one of these lineages.

If we now concern ourselves further with the ethnography of the Masai in particular, which is at the same time that of the Wakuafi, we are thereby including the ethnographic traits of the entire people the knowing of individual differences that have developed among the Wandorobo in the course of time and under the influence of changed conditions will be reserved for the third part.

/18/ Second Part

I.

Tribes, lineages, sublineages. -- The Il gidoh lineage. -- The chief: his role and policy, magic medicines, genealogical tree, village, ceremonies, feasts. -- The sorcerer. -- The Il kibosiki lineage. -- The rainmakers.

Every tribe (el oloshoni) is divided, as has already been mentioned, into a number of lineages (il gilata, el gilat). Among these, in turn, one distinguishes principal lineages (il gilata kitok)

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714 which only the brave are entitled to wear, the <u>ee</u> <u>sesata</u> <u>i</u> <u>ei</u> <u>kigelomi</u>.
531 A shield emblem is complete if, in addition to the ornamental band, it also contains the red warrior-emblem.

The ornamental band is the stripe painted in the longitudinal diameter of the shield. Actually <u>ee</u> <u>sesata</u> is the name of the cowrie shells that, sewed on leather strips, adorn the gourd bottles. The similarity of such an ornamental band with the longitudinal stripe on the surface of the shield explains the Mami word used for this and my translation as ornamental band. The drawing of the ornamental band is unimportant and is often subject to the taste of the moment. Considerable differences exist both between the provinces and within the individual ones.

794 The most important emblem on the shield of the warriors is the
531 red warrior-emblem. Three forms of it are distinguished: the
634 double wedge (Plate 1: Figs. 2, 4, 6, 9, 13, 14, 15, 17) along the
184 ornamental band belongs to Kimdigo Province, the segments of circles (Plate 1: Figs. 5, 7, 10, 18) on the ornamental band are the emblem for Lolia Province, and the peripheral emblem (Plate 1: Figs. 11, 12, 16) shows that the bearer of such a shield belongs to Ol bruggo Province. The warrior emblem is either on both halves of the shield or only on one: the former is the rule in Ol bruggo and Lolia, the latter /<u>NO</u>/ in Kimongo. Lolia and Kimongo, however, show more exceptions. If the red emblem is painted on both halves of the shield, the one half shows the mirror image of the other, so that a symmetrical double emblem results, the center line of which is formed by the ornamental band. According to my explorations, this seems to have been the fashion especially after booty-rich war expeditions. On the other hand, where the red emblem is found on only one side, the other half of the shield shows one or two large, black, bow-shaped emblems (Plate 1: Figs. 1, 3, 8, 13, 16, 17, 18). These are commonly
778 found in Kimdigo, where they have been customary for as long as the
551 memory of the people extends. They are rarer in Lolia /<u>NO</u>. If ap-
439 pears here/ and, to be sure, really only since the death of Mbaryaa.
1896 Mbaryaa resides in Kimongo, and his bodyguard consisted of Kimongo
• 139 warriors. After his death Zandeo put together a guard made up of
791 Lolia warriors and also stayed largely in Lolia in order to avoid the

/80 cont./

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Ill. 29. Shield escutcheons of the Masai.

714 influence of the Moschi military station better. The answer to the
531 question concerning the meaning of the black bows was almost always
634 merely that they probably served as ornamentation, since, with the
184 application of the warrior emblem on the one side, the other half
791 of the shield would look unattractively empty, and only a few old men
• 179 opined that it was originally a lineage emblem of the Ilo gidod. This conception seems to me the right one, and it would explain why the emblem /81/ has been commonly used in Kisongo from time immemorial and then also came to Loita after Mbatyan's death.

714 The lineage emblem is almost never found on the shields of
531 today: thus I did not come across it until I had drawn by a number of
613 old men the shield escutcheons carried by them in their youth. The illustrations of Plate 2 show a collection of lineage emblems. We see there that the emblem is sometimes applied on the front of the shield surface, sometimes on the back of the shield. While the
[561] warrior emblems have remained the same for a long time, the lineage emblems were always quite variable, and it seems that each age class made up its own.

1/A. [See p. 608--Analyst]

411 /131 cont./ The
[237] beautifully worked scabbard (eñ ilaúkíe, á ilaúkíwa [Fig. 31 c and
[386] 31]) is made from goatskin or ostrich's hide and dyed with the red juice
[424] of the root of the shrub el engelendo Leg dúik (1):

1. Plumbago zeylanica.

on the back side is found a longitudinal middle seam and on the front side a corresponding longitudinal fold. Twelve centimeters from the upper edge /131/ of the scabbard there sits on the front side an oblong eyelet (el olúrk el ngumuchi) through which the belt (eñ ilaúkíe, á ilaúkíwa [Fig. 31 b]) worn around the hips is stuck. The latter is made of ostrich's skin and decorated with several longitudinal folds. There is a hole (en nabóto, a nabor) at one end, and at the other one a small leather strap (olig ene, lo gude). The sword is worn on the right side and drawn with the right hand. Left-handed men wear it on the left side. This carrying method seems to point to the fact that formerly the people did not carry swords, but daggers, for a sword can be drawn with the right hand better from the left side, whereas a dagger is more quickly ready for a thrust from the right. Moreover, the sword, even today, is also frequently handled like a dagger.

[174] [227] [58]

714 [174] [173] According to the traditions of the people, the original Masai shields were very small (shield o el olei). They had a circular, flat shape, a round umbo in the center, and a diameter of 30 centimeters. The grip stick was fastened on the back side with small straps, which were drawn through the shield. The very light shield was carried with two fingers at the grip stick. Accordingly, the hollow of the umbo was very small. Gradually the shields became larger, and the reason for this may be sought in the frequent conflicts of the Masai with peoples carrying bows and arrows. Since in its original shape, the shield, with its enlargement, lost firmness, this was increased in that a wooden frame (el dereñi, el derára) was sewed around the outer periphery with strips of goat or sheep skin, the shield was bellied out, and, to preserve the longitudinal convexity, two straps (e rechete)

[237]

/301 cont./

#121 its conquest by Israel, and that the Jews found there a soil already long worked by the ancient Babylonian culture, which made it easier for them to adopt new culture elements and alien ideas.

Let us now briefly consider the question of when Israel is supposed to have come to those Babylonian ideas. In addition to what was regarded as specifically Babylonian in those common myths, there was also found much that was genuinely Israelitish, among which is to be counted, above all, the monotheism prevailing everywhere in the Old Testament. Those ideas must therefore have undergone a long development in Israel before they could have assumed the forms in which the Bible has handed them down to us. This led to the assumption that the influence emanating from Babylon began to have an effect on the Israelites around the middle of the second millennium before Christ through the intervention of the original inhabitants of Kanaan /Canaan/. The discovery of the Tell el-Amarna tablets, which, among other things, taught that even at that time there was an active correspondence in Babylonian script and language between Babel on the one hand and Egypt and Palestine on the other, strengthened that assumption.

This brief sketch may suffice to show how and when Babylonian influence could have influenced the mental life of Israel.

Let us now turn to the Masai!

#703 #171 #121 Here we found the surprising fact that a large number of ideas, especially in the myths of the primeval age, remind one in part very strongly of the respective accounts as the Bible teaches them to us and the Babylonian excavations show them, in part correspond only with Old Testament ones. Four possibilities come into consideration to explain this amazing phenomenon:

1. the Masai, too, have been influenced by Babylon;
2. those ideas have been brought to the Masai through Islam or the influence of Israelitish or Christian missionaries;
3. what we find in common among Masai, Israelites, and Babylonians is of common origin;
4. those ideas originated among the Masai people.

#121 #174 /302/ In order to investigate the first possibility, there is first to be answered the question as to when the Masai left their original

/302 cont./

*121 • 174 homeland in the Arabian Peninsula. Arguing against the assumption that they passed through the land of Egypt in Egyptian historical times -- approximately 4000 b. c. -- is the complete absence of Egyptian documents about such an event (1).

> 1. It is very improbable that in the as yet little known periods from the 7th to the 11th and 13th to the 17th dynasties larger migrations of peoples passed through Egypt. For there would then be at least hints of such profoundly decisive events. On the other hand, however, it is not impossible that in the almost totally unknown period before the 4th dynasty large migrations of peoples took place within the field of vision of the Egyptians. If this is the case, however, it can not have been a matter of the Masai people, but of peoples such as the Somali, Galla, etc., who immigrated to Africa after it.

Or could one assume, say, that the Masai were at that time such an insignificantly small nation that their passage through Egypt remained unnoticed, so to speak, and appeared not worth recording by their contemporaries? In that case would it not have been probable that the small band remained in Egypt and perished there? And how, on the basis of such an assumption, is it to be explained further that the Masai were able to develop into such a mighty people in the African steppes, since history teaches us that the equator sets a limit for those steppe peoples who immigrated from the Near East? Just as the two Tatoga peoples and the first two immigrant bands of the Masai have already perished, so today we see the Masai themselves hastening, step by step, toward the same fate. A further argument against the above assumption lies in the habits and customs, in the entire ethnography of the Masai. A small, weak people could neither have maintained itself in its Near Eastern originality, nor would it have been able to force so much of it on other peoples with whom it later came in contact. I believe these considerations may suffice to make probable the assumption that the Masai were already a strong

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/302 cont./ and mighty people at the time of their immigration to Africa.

Now how would the passage of the Masai through an Egypt dominated by a political commonwealth have appeared? Could they have wandered through slowly and peacefully, or would they have had to force their way through by war? The first possibility is improbable because of the circumstance that the Masai at that time would seem to have already become a strong people. With the fact, however, that they also remained such a people and, further, that their ethnography nowhere shows traces of any influence by the arising or existing civilized state of Egypt, it entirely leaves the realm of probability. Thus we arrive at the assumption that the Masai must have had to force their passage through Egypt by war, and this would surely have been an event about which -- if it occurred in historical times -- many inscriptions would give us information.

/303/ Now there remains still another -- less improbable -- possibility, namely, the one that the Masai immigrated to Africa in Egyptian historical times and, without crossing Egypt, moved south along the Red Sea, like many Bedouins still today. If one considers that the Egyptian government is still unable to exercise any effective control over the indeed only small Bedouin bands migrating back and forth between the Nile Valley and the Red Sea, it is, indeed, in and by itself not impossible that at the time of ancient Egypt larger masses of peoples might have passed along those routes through the desert from watering place to watering place. Such a route would have given the Masai the possibility of an immigration without warlike encounters with the Egyptians, provided that the latter did not see in those hordes threats to their own security and therefore did not proceed to attack them. Be that as it may, the Egyptians could not have remained ignorant of the passage of such large multitudes of people, rather, it would have had to aroused their attention if only on account of the possible danger from it for their trade relations to the south, and therefore we may assume that if the migration had taken place at a time from which we have documents from them they would probably have told about it.

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#12| 174 The last possibility, an immigration across the Red Sea, is out of the question for the Masai. Livestock-raising nomads cannot travel in this way with their herds.

I therefore come to the conclusion that the Masai had already moved into Africa long before the period from which we possess Egyptian documents. With this answered; the first question is already for the influence of Babel, whose civilization did not arise until the fourth millennium, could by no means have been so far-reaching then, and, moreover, the shamanism of the Sumerians still prevailed there at that time. But even if one could postulate a later immigration of the Masai into Africa, there is still lacking any reason for the assumption that the Masai had ever been sedentary. This, however, would be the basic condition for the possibility of Babylonian influence. Babel, with its so much higher civilization and its mighty army, would have been able to draw into its orbit a sedentary people of agriculturalists; but it could not have exerted an influence on a nomadic steppe people, either through mental superiority or through force, without previously robbing it of its independence. Loss of independence for such a people, however, means nothing other than decay of the people's stability -- extinction. Also, however, if an influencing by Babylon were conceivable in temporal or local terms, the possibility of such would be most clearly and positively excluded by the content and spirit of the Masai tradition itself.

#12| 799 177 174 D15] In order to eliminate the second case, there is first to be substantiated the fact that, as far as we know up to the present time, never and nowhere have Islam, Judaism, /304/ or the Christian missions been able to exert an influence on the Masai people restlessly wandering across the steppes. I must also exclude the possibility that my informants (people 50 years of age and more) could have been influenced on those points in the aforesaid ways, according to my investigations conducted exhaustively along these lines. Moreover, the people assert most emphatically that they learned those accounts from their fathers, who allegedly in turn heard them from their fathers.

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*121 797 177 *174 Now the fact that missionaries of whatever faith, as far as we know, have never exerted any influence on the Masai people does not, to be sure, exclude the possibility of an influence in the aforesaid direction on single individuals who, be some chance, for example, in war as war captives, were separated from their people. That these then returned to their people and were able to report what they had heard there would likewise be conceivable. Be that as it may, however, could some missionary activity among the Masai that has remained unknown to us or the circumstance that persons individually taught by missionaries were anxious to disseminate what they had heard among their fellow tribesmen really have put the Masai in possession of those accounts such as I found among them? *121 *173 797 177 174 Would it perhaps be possible that Israelitish, Mohammedan, or Christian dogmatists, none of whom have any tradition older than that of the Hexateuch for those myths, could have disseminated them in the form in which I found them among the Masai, in a form that is much older and more original than that of the Bible and that has much to report that was already forgotten at the time of the drawing up of the Biblical texts in question, or what, through the further development of religion, to which the sedentation of the Israelites gave a mighty impetus, had long been displaced and supplanted by new ones corresponding to the newly achieved cultural level? The differences that separate the myths of the Masai from the Biblical ones will be pointed out in the comparison to follow and will show us that the Masai could not have arrived at those accounts through the intervention of the missionaries, who -- I repeat -- could only have drawn upon the Hexateuch.

Now one could perhaps interpose: is it not possible that missionaries imparted to the Masai these primeval-age reports in their Biblical form, and that the Masai then altered them in accordance with their understanding and their way of thinking? This is to be *[171] answered: how can one then explain the fact that the Masai arrived at precisely the form that, though no longer contained in the Bible in clear words, is nevertheless still to be recognized from it? I am thinking, for example, of Jahve's /Yahweh's/ struggle with the dragon preceding the creation, further of the assumption of only

/304 cont./

*121 *773 *171 797 179 194 one forbidden tree in paradise, then of the first murder as the cause for the deluge, of the clearly recognizable separation, at various points in the Masai tradition, of source material woven together in the Hexateuch, and finally of many other /305/ passages that will be pointed out in what follows. Are these all supposed to be coincidences? If it were only a question of a single point one could perhaps provisionally, for want of a better explanation, accept the assumption of a coincidence. But then one can not go on doing that forever when the correspondences pile up to such an extent. This also applies in linguistic respects, for the similarity of sounds in the personal names of both series of myths and for the meaning of names for which the Bible gives no explanation and which the Masai tradition interprets in a sense contained in the corresponding Biblical account, such as, for example, the names Naraba and Eramram.

Further, however, it is also to be considered that the primeval-age tradition that I found among the Masai and for which the Bible contains parallel passages concludes with the epoch of the law-giving. This fact gives further important proof of the impossibility that it could have been foreign dogmatists who brought the Masai those myths. Though in and of itself it is conceivable that Israelitish religious messengers might have made a particular impression on those accounts from antiquity, it is nevertheless most improbable that they would have limited their teaching solely to these and would not also have spoken of Jahve's action in later times. Christian or Mohammedan missionaries, however, would not make the material in question the most important and only subject of their teaching activity at all, but would fashion it for a dissemination the essential teachings of Christ or Mohammed.

*121 *773 *171 174 There remains only the third possibility, namely, that the presentations of the Masai, the Israelites, and the Babylonians (1)

1. The question as to which population stratum is involved here is to be left open.

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*121 *173 *171 • 174

are based on a common primeval idea, or the fourth, that those myths of the Masai originated in primeval times. We shall find the answers to these questions in the following.

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If we consider that, after the Masai left their original homeland in Arabia, the civilized state of Egypt, with its mental life alien to the savage nomads, developed at their backs and through that cut them off from further influences from the Near East, we may probably assume that they, for whom, by persisting in their original mode of life and independence, any motive for cultural development in a new direction and for adopting alien ideas and customs was lacking, were able to preserve for us the ethnography of that common original homeland most purely and originally.

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The mental life of the Israelites and the Babylonians was already being led out of its old path into a new one by their becoming sedentary. The nomad thinks and feels differently than the agriculturalist, and the latter in turn is remote from the mental life of the town dweller. To a people becoming sedentary, not only the ones displaced by them, but also their already sedentary neighbors introduce /306/ new physical and -- among primitive peoples not infrequently just through this -- new psychic elements as well; through the friction and fusion of these arises the progress out of which then develops what one usually designates as civilization. Of the three peoples interesting us here the Masai are on the lowest level of this evolution, the Babylonians on the highest, and between the two poles hover the people of Israel, clinging to the old by adhering to monotheism and drawn forward toward Babel despite the polytheism prevailing there and their resistance to it, by the pressure arising or fostered owing to a stay of 400 years in Egypt and the sedentation resulting from it. Many passages in the Old Testament give evidence of the struggle and reconciliation of the two directions; yet in ideal matters the original interpretation almost always retains command, whereas in practical ones, in question of daily life, gradually the view modified by the advancing civilization, therefore principally by Babylonians influence, struggles upward and presses into the foreground (1).

1. This is reflected most clearly, of course, in the law.

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*121 original homeland, which, as is still most clearly recognizable among primitive peoples, has marked not only the somatic charteristics, but also the psyche of the people.

*121 304 • 174 Now, what is the situation with regard to the racial relationship of the most ancient peoples whom we know practiced circumcision? It has been determined that the tribes related to the Israelites, the Ammonites, Edomites, and Moabites, as well as the Arab tribes of the northern part of the peninsula, also observed the custom of circumcision (1).

> 1. According to Ploss, "Das Kind in Brauch und Sitte der Völker /The Child in the Habits and Customs of Peoples/."

We know further that the Egyptians and Babylonians practiced circumcision, and finally we now also know that all these peoples either were pure Semites or the Semitic element was very strongly predominant in them.

Now this by no means is to say, however, that circumcision was originally peculiar to all the Semites (2)

> 2. I found, for example, that a lineage of the Tatoga, frequently mentioned in these pages, does not practice circumcision. Besides, we know that in Egypt the common people were not circumcised.

and only to them: on the contrary, it seems foolish to try to answer the question as to the time and place of the origin of this custom, which also exists among so many non-Semitic peoples. Most probably it may indeed be that circumcision stems from a time whose history we attempt to patch together out of the finds of skeletal remains, etc. If, on the basis of the ancient Israelitish command that circumcision is to be performed with a stone knife, we may conclude that it originated in the Stone Age, one might suspect an even earlier period on the basis of the interdict that rejects the use of the reed splinter for it.

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*539 *793 *171 *121 the Masai gives the older interpretation requires no further proof. On the other hand, the later alteration of the Biblical name is shown in its meaning of breath, for this is closely connected with the myth, only arising in more recent times, which designates Kain /Cain/ as the first murderer.

With regard to the order of succession of the three sons, it seems to me that not only what was said above about the children of Eramram-Amram applies here, but that it is also to be noted that it is not in keeping with the views of a primitive people that the eldest son and heir should wander away from his homeland and abandon the paternal property.

III.

The Masai and the oldest Hebrews originate from the same people. -- The schism in the original homeland. -- The Ameroi. -- The El eberet. -- The El eberet = Hebrews. -- Their proximity to the El dinet, who know the God Jau and the prohibition against the partaking of blood. -- The Amerd may be the Amorites. -- The Biblical myths of the primeval age stem from the Amai people and may have come to the Israelites through the El eberet-Hebrews, to Canaan through the Ameroi-Amorites, and from there to Babel.

*121 *194 Laws and customs can probably give only a relatively slight chance to prove the original solidarity of the Masai and Israelites, /339/ for the latter, at the time from which the oldest accounts about them stem, that is to say, in the tenth century before Christ, during which the Jahvist /Yahwist/ source of the Pentateuch originated, were already quite advanced in culture, and, to be sure, in a direction originally quite foreign to them. From savage nomads there had developed, even at that time, urban dwellers of an organized state. Conversely, however, the Masai too may not have remained completely uninfluenced by the numerous peoples with whom they came in contact in the course of millenniums, in connection with which, to be sure, it is to be noted that by far the

/339 cont./

*121 most of these peoples were and are themselves Semites or Nigrito-
• 174 Semites. The differences that we find in the customs and in the law of these two peoples should therefore not be put too much in the foreground.

*121 The situation is different with regard to the early history, the
173 early religious tradition, and everything that is included under the
174 designation religion; for these three things form such a closely knit, homogeneous whole that foreign elements must always remain foreign within it. Now, since we find precisely in this a complete correspondence between the Masai and the Israelites, and even among the already sedentary Israelites still see preserved the customs based on their early history or on their early religious tradition, there follows with compulsory necessity the conclusion that there must have once been a time when the two peoples were <u>one people</u>.

*121 The manner in which the schism between the two peoples oc-
173 curred is reported by the tradition of the Masai, which, on account of its natural simplicity and considering the amazingly accurate preservation, in word and meaning, of the other traditions from primeval times, may probably be regarded as credible throughout, corresponding to the truth.

According to it, as a consequence of epidemics and drought, some of the Masai had become quite poor in livestock, many people had even lost all their livestock and lived as hunters. These impoverished ones, who were called 'L amerak or Ameroi, had to cover part of their subsistence by buying vegetable foods among nearby agriculturalists. They thus became dependent on them and could choose their places of residence scarcely more than a few days' march from them, whereas the still well-to-do Masai wandered from one pasturing place to another with their herds, in accordance with their ancient custom. They remained livestock nomads, while the others gradually had to become agriculturalists. The aforesaid dependence of the nomad on the agriculturalist can, in the natural course of things, only ever be a temporary state and must necessarily lead to the former's learning agriculture, for the independent production of his subsistence is the basic condition for his continuance. Now this further development, however, does not

*121 /342 cont./
173 For otherwise what reason would the lawgivers have had to state that interdict so often and emphatically as the passages quoted above show, at a time when the Israelites had already been sedentary for more than half a millennium?

*121 We find a further influence in the Israelitish god's name jahveh
173 /Yahweh/, which may have originated from the 'n jau of the El
• 174 dinet. As is already well known, jau is also the Assyrian form of jahveh, so that in this we have before us further proof of the reliability of the oral tradition of the Masai. In connection with the etymology of the word jau, it is to be said that, according to the statements of the Masai, their ancient language knew the word hau = great, which still occurs today in the Tatoga speech as 'hau. Through this it is probable that the stem of this word belongs to the original Semitic language and in it has the meaning "great," so that the god's name 'n jau in its feminine form would be translated as "the great one."

Now, according to Hommel (1),

1. Prof. Dr. F. Hommel: Die altorientalischen Denkmäler und das alte Testament /The Ancient Oriental Monuments and the Old Testament/. 2nd edition.

Ai is the oldest designation of the moon god among the western Semites, whose moon cult was almost monotheism. The, long before Moses introduced the official god's name Jahve, Ai and Jau are found as synonymous secondary forms of the name of the supreme god. Just as the god's name of the Masai, Ńg Ai, shows the feminine form, so Ai of the Babylonians was also of the female sex. Moreover, Hommel found an A—u element in Assyrian and Mesopotamian personal names and proved that this name was originally Hau.

*121 Let us now turn to the other part of the Masai people, who re-
174 mained in the original homeland, the Ąmeroi or Ąmoroi. That the Bible also gives information about them we shall be able to assume as probable from the outset, in view of what has been found before. The following seems to me to argue that we may recognize in them the Amorites of the Bible:

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First of all there is a similarity of sound between the two names. The /343/ possibility of the identity of the two names is strengthened by the cuneiform designation for the Amorite people. In the Omina tablets, which stem from the period around 3000 B. C., the lands of Syria and Palestine are called Amurrû, and the letters of Hammurabi show that originally a people was designated with this word, [illegible]d, to be sure, the one that Assyriology has already definitely [illegible]zed as the Amorite people.

Further, the Bible, in 1st Moses /Genesis [illegible], reports that Abraham concluded a war alliance with th[illegible] of the Amorites. One should indeed note: Abraham, "domiciled" as a herd nomad at Ur in Chaldea, concluded an alliance, on his wanderings, with the Amorites settled about 1000 kilometers away in Palestine. First of all, such an alliance presupposes a community of like or similar interests. Now Abraham, however, is still a nomad, whereas the Amorites are already sedentary (it has already been conjectured above that the Amorû must have become sedentary before the El eberet). We still have the same relationship today between sedentary Wakuafi and nomadic Masai; despite the difference in their way of life, there is a close community of interests, for the Masai who has become sedentary, just like the nomadic one, has no concern other than the preservation or, more accurately, the increase of his property in livestock, a goal that goal is served precisely by war. Work in the fields does not trouble him, but rather is a matter for the women, and, to be sure, primarily those who were captured in war for this from agricultural tribes.

Further, however, we may also unhesitatingly conclude from the existence of the pact, in view of the national-exclusive position of the people of Israel, that there was a national community, even though outwardly loose, nevertheless still existing in the feelings of both parties. It would be directly contrary to the character of the Masai to enter into any -- seriously intended -- alliance with a people belonging to the El mgg. For the alliances concluded in later times by the Israelites with other peoples, what was intended for the ones still living in a state of savage warlike nomadism at the time of Abraham need no longer apply.

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*121 *174 Unfortunately, Oriental research still knows practically nothing about the Amorites, or at least not much more. We do not know what somatically different peoples participated in the formation of the historic Amorite people, and we are not familiar with either their ethnography or the manners and customs characteristic of them before they were absorbed. Not until research has thrown light upon this shall we have more detailed knowledge. for the time being we can only surmise. Now my surmise on this subject is that the Amoroi as they became sedentary became an essential part of the Amorites, to whom they also gave their name. The other constituent part of the Amorites was -- as is surmised -- blond-haired and of Aryan origin, and probably also significantly surpassed the Semitic Amoroi in numbers. The fact that the Amorites, however, were named after the latter and not the former /344/ will not surprise us if we consider that the people of the same race as the Amoroi, the El eberet-Hebrews, and the Semitic Babylonians were given that name, and that the Hebrews too, despite their 95 per cent non-Semitic blood, were always called Hebrews (and Israelites) and never Hetthiter /Hittites/.

*121 773 174 Now, if it is correct that the Masai, the Hebrews, and the Amorites, descended from the original Amal people in the aforesaid way, the following is shown with regard to the origin and migration of the Biblical myths coming under consideration: The myths stem from the original Amal people, who passed them on directly to their descendants, the present-day Masai. Through the El eberet-Hebrews, the oldest constituent part of the Israelites, they came to the latter. The Amoroi-Amorites, who first became sedentary in Kanaan /Canaan/, subsequently brought them, through their immigration, to Babylon, where the part of them that could be inserted into the astral cult prevailing there was preserved. This assumption may satisfactorily explain the form of the reports of those myths found in Babel: of the original accounts the images, the external forms, are preserved, whereas the spirit of the 'Ng ai-Jahve religion originally animating them was driven out by the one of the Babylonian state religion, which is represented as an astral cult planted on the shamanism of the Sumerians.

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

114 184 Consequently one must specify which Masai he is speaking of, where, and when; it is not valid to generalize about "the Masai."

History

121 Man is the ecological dominant, therefore knowledge of human history of an area is basic to understanding of its ecological history. For this reason I have gone into the history of the Masai in some detail.

174 Before 1800. The early history of the Masai has been discussed by a number of writers. Among the important works are those by Fosbrooke (1948, 1956), Gower (1948), Grant (1954, 1957), Hollis (1905), Leakey (1930), Peters (1891), Sanford (1919), Sloan (1962), and Thomson (1885). The following summary is drawn from these writings.

[144] The Masai are considered to be of Nilo-Hamitic stock. It is believed that about 400 years ago they occupied a lowland country north and west of Lake Rudolph in northern Kenya. According to their own traditions they (subsequently) occupied a country called Kiaru which must have been the Rift Valley between Lake Rudolph and the Kenya Highlands. This area lies about

174 160-200 miles airline north of Western Masailand, and
174 it is a desert at present. A tribal elder called
773 Maasinda found a way to climb the escarpment at the south
of Kiteru and some of the tribe then moved into the Kenya
(174) Highlands. The legendary Maasinda had six sons who
became the founders of the present six Masai clans.

The tribe gradually moved south. At Ngong, near Nairobi, according to their traditions they found a Heaven-born child who became their first Laibon
174 or Medicine Man (Hollis, 1905). Fosbrooke (1948) dated the arrival at Ngong at 1640 on the basis of the genealogy of the Laibons founded by that legendary first child. During the next 150 years the Masai moved over 300 miles airline southward.

131 1800-1850: By 1800 a few Masai had made what
175 proved to be the tribe's maximum penetration into Tanganyika but it was not until about 1880 that they had completed their occupation of what is now the Masai Steppe in Tanganyika (Fig. 1). There had been constant warfare and raiding involved in this settlement, and the margins of Masailand fluctuated somewhat. For a time the Masai occupied the area immediately south of the Ngorongoro Highlands, as well as lands near Mt. Kilimanjaro and Mt. Meru that are now in other hands.

[See p. 9m.--Analyst]

12:Dundas G-5 (ca. 1900) 1908 F'L6 Dorobo F'L6 K:Kikuyu FL 10 Masai: FL 12

nies amongst them, and it is not difficult with a little practice to tell the particular division to which a Kikuyu belongs. Thus the people of Ithiriri* have pronounced Masai features, and many of their chiefs are pure or half Masai by birth. This is due to the fact that when the Kikuyu invaded that district about forty years ago they found it occupied by the remnants of the Alhigish and Dale-le-kutch Masai, who owing to famines, raids, and other causes were too much weakened to resist them. The two tribes therefore settled down peaceably side by side, and by intermarrying formed one people.

Again, many of the Kikuyu clans claim descent from certain particular tribes: thus, the Anjiro and Chakamaya clans say they are descended from the Sinkia, the Akhachiko and Ashuro from the Kamba, the Asaaka from the Chaga of Kilimanjaro. Anyone enquiring into the descent of those present at a meeting of Kikuyu elders will find an extraordinary number of different tribes represented. One is a Maore, another a Chaga, a third a Masai, a fourth a Sinkia, a fifth a Dorobo, and so on.

The actual Kikuyu themselves are said to have come from two tribes called the Simgishu and Ngumbu, both of which still exist as tribes somewhere beyond the Maore country, south of Mount Kenia.

I cannot speak from experience of the Simgishu, but I have met a native of Ngumbu whose appearance reminded me strongly of a Kikuyu. This man, who said he had never seen a white man before, told me that his country lay beyond Maore and that he had come here to visit relatives. These same Ngumbu are believed to have been originally Dorobo, and Kaveri, one of the paramount chiefs of the Kikuyu, who is himself a Dorobo, claims descent from them. The Ngumbu of the present day are probably analogous to the Kikuyu, *i.e.*, they are a mixture of Dorobo and some other tribe or tribes.

Many absolutely foreign tribes have had colonies in Kikuyu for shorter or longer periods. A tribe of exact people called Digo are stated to have lived for many years on the Tana River, in what is now known as the Fort Hall District† Somali, Galla, Boreana, or some other similar people effected a very strong footing in Kikuyu some fifty to seventy years ago. According to tradition they belonged to the Sambu Lukidzio, Sigiroi, and Embomvorori clans‡ and they had settlements at Nyeri, Nairombo, Kijabe, Pareto Hills, and generally all over the Kikuyu country.

In those days the Alhigish Masai occupied the Lukipia Plateau, the Purko Masai were at Nairombo, the Kapsiriri in the Kidong Valley, and the Turororo at Ithiriri. The Dorobo, who were still the dominant tribe, occupied with the Kikuyu the present Kikuyu country.

With all these tribes the Somali or Galla lived in a state of chronic warfare.

The Lavoma, a Kikuyu clan, and the Aswa, a Dorobo clan, unable to hold out any longer, migrated. The former have, it is said, preserved to this day their tribal identity and customs, and are still to be found somewhere in the vicinity of Kilimanjaro§; the latter now Mombasa‖

The remaining tribes appealed for assistance against their oppressors to a great medicine man called Segi (or, to give him his correct name, Segoi), the grandfather of Lenana, the present Masai chief.

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* The name Ithiriri is said to be derived from Ithiroroto stool, my Turoroto woman. Turoroto is the name of the most important clan in the particular section of the Masai.

† Mr. Hobley informs me that the Sigishi, who have intermarried with the Digo, a sub-tribe of the Wa-Dyiko, have a tradition to the effect that they once lived on the Tana River.

‡ Sambu is the Kikuyu, Sigiroiki the Masai for Somali and Galla.

§ Possibly the Aswaka, who live on Mount Meru in German East Africa.

‖ By Mombasa the up-country native often means the coast generally. According to Mr. Hobley the Wa-kenya call themselves, and are known to the Galla as, Warera; sing., Wanya.

12:Dundas G-5 (ca. 1900) 1908 F1A Dundas F1A
K-Kavirondo F1.10
Maasai F6.12

Sogi is said to have instructed the Dundas to bring him a pair of sandals made of leather having hair on both sides, the Masai to bring him a bull, the dung of which was pure white, and the Elkoyo an animal called Nabo (a burrowing rat or mole).

The Dundas cut off the ears of a donkey, and produced them on the required sandals before Sogi; the Masai brought a bull but no milk only; and the Elkoyo the animal called Nabo.

Sogi then told each tribe to take its respective shares and to attack the enemy separately and at different points.

The Masai, mounting into Elkoyo from Kaimosho, fell upon the strangers first, and taking all their stock drove them on to the Elkoyo, who in their turn drove them on to the Dundas, by whom they were finally seized.

The Somali or Galla were then disposed of, and only by the cause Sogi, which was given to the generation that fought with and expelled them, and by a few women of their tribe, taken prisoners by the Dundas, are we reminded of their sojourn in Elkoyo. Amongst these prisoners may be mentioned an old woman called Bandito, who is still alive and resides in one of Sogi's villages. She was formerly Chief Kavet's nurse.

Needless to say the Masai kept all the cattle which they captured, and this caused a rupture between them and the Dundas and Elkoyo, who joined forces and waged war on them. After a time had been made the Dundas and Elkoyo fought amongst themselves.

If the Elkoyo were to live and increase they had to cultivate the ground, and to do so they were obliged to destroy the forests. The very existence, however, of the Dundas depended on the preservation of the forests, and hence arose a struggle for survival, which allowed of no compromise and could have but one end.*

In an incredibly short time the great primeval forests, the home of the Dundas, were destroyed, and with them this interesting people ceased to exist as a tribe. Deprived of the means of living, many died, some took to cultivation, whilst the majority migrated to other regions, where they formed small colonies, such as are to be found at Sotiago, Kaimosho, Sertima, Kijabe, on Lukhyia and Mau, at Tororo, in German East Africa, and even, it is said, in places as remote as Kisumu—(the chief died even in this last place was the Agwatsi). This scattering of the tribe accounts for the peculiar fact that Dundas living in widely different localities speak the same language! The Sotiago, Kaimosho, Kijabe, and Sertima Dundas, and those of similar colonies with, if questioned, as to where they came from, usually mention Kavirondo and Kavirondi as the birthplace of their fathers.

As regards the origin of this interesting tribe, we know little or nothing. There appear to have been two branches, the Agwatsi and the Chini†: the former herded the goats on the plains, the latter in the forests. They lived in pits dug in the ground and covered over with leaves of the wild banana; these pits may to this day be seen anywhere in the Elkoyo country, though of course they become more numerous the nearer one approaches the forest. They are also said to have lived their

* The few Elkoyo in some into the country appear to have been almost without exception peaceful, and they accordingly did not interfere at all with the Dundas. The later arrivals, who came to have possessed less stock, purchased from individual Dundas the right to certain pieces of land to farm. For some reason or other just about the time the Somali or Galla were driven out, a sudden very growing demand for grain appears to have arisen amongst the Elkoyo; this may have been due to one of two causes—the Elkoyo may have had enough cultivate a large amount of stock, or there may have been just at this time a sudden influx of agricultural natives.

† Kwale. (In addition can be noted with Kwale-speaking tribes, the younger generation is rapidly forgetting this language.)

‡ The country lying between the Nzoia River and Mumyoyo in Elkoyo